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AMERICAN ULTRAS



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the extreme right and the
military-industrial complex
by Irwin Suall

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The American Ultras

the extreme right and the
military-industrial complex

Irwin Suall

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The American Ultras

Introduction

Because I had so little to do with the hard detailed work which went into the preparation of this pamphlet, I can praise it objectively with very good conscience. Irwin Suall and his helpers have done a remarkable job in dealing with an extreme, ultra right conservatism or reaction which is on the march in America.

This reaction is born of fear which seeks a simple explanation of what is to be feared. That fear expresses itself in an indiscriminate hatred of communism. For a great many Americans, communism has taken the place which religious fundamentalists have ascribed to the devil. It is something not to be analyzed but to be utterly hated and totally rejected. It is most dangerous when it wears the garb of an angel of light. Social reforms which commend themselves to a great many Americans are somehow proof of communist interpenetration!

This latter absurdity is immediately useful to a great many powerful capitalist interests which have not been slow to subsidize these irrational groups very generously. But in the long run it is communism itself which is likely to be the winner if every social reform is to be attributed to its influence. That theory by the way, beautifully illustrated in that inaccurate and misleading document, "Communism on the Map," would bring even the Pope and Vatican City under the deepest suspicion in view of the generally radical nature of large parts of the now famous papal encyclical, *Mater et Magistra*.

The contents of our pamphlet have been submitted to the proper agencies of government, to President Kennedy, for example, and to Governor Rockefeller of New York, for appropriate action. But our main appeal on the basis of this sober presentation of facts is to the mind and conscience of the American people, heirs to a great tradition of freedom which these reactionaries neither understand nor accept.

Some of them argue, ridiculously, that the danger to our country which they so greatly fear is from within and not from without; that our best protection would be a more diligent witchhunt at home. Actually they are building up the ill-informed hate and acceptance of violence which can only make war, even the terrible war of the nuclear age, more likely. It is precisely the countries where democracy and freedom are the most healthy, where there are strong democratic socialist parties, and democratic unions, that have the least reason to cower before communism within or without. A great part of the price of peace is clear understanding. It is this which the tactics of the John Birch Society, et al, make impossible.

Norman Thomas

RADICAL reaction is on the march in the United States.

High-ranking military leaders and corporate executives are leading a crusade which has found support in thousands of communities across the land. In the name of "Total Victory," they urge a policy which leads straight toward World War III and nuclear holocaust.

Indeed, one must now speak of the American Ultras.

It was Senator Fulbright who first suggested the analogy between the radical right in the United States and the French Generals—the Ultras—who attempted to overthrow the DeGaulle Government because of their opposition to Algerian independence. Fulbright correctly pointed out that one cannot simply equate the French plotters with the American right wing, particularly the military. But he went on to say, "Nevertheless, military officers, French or American, have some common characteristics arising from their profession and there are numerous military 'fingers on the trigger' throughout the world."

Fulbright's concern had been aroused by one of the most important aspects of the development of the American Ultras: Generals and Admirals utilizing the Armed Services for the dissemination of extreme right-wing propaganda.

This is not to suggest a plot theory of malevolent reaction. On the contrary, the problem of the American Ultras is extremely serious precisely because one here confronts, not a handful of fringe fanatics, but significant social forces in American society moving toward the politics of radical reaction.

The American Ultras have strong connections with the leaders of powerful corporations; their activists are high in the military; and they can summon up community support across the nation from every know-nothing, bigoted and anti-democratic tendency in the land.

Indeed, it was Dwight D. Eisenhower who focused attention upon the massive social basis of the American Ultras. In his last address as President, Eisenhower pointed to an enormous danger to democratic freedoms: the military-industrial complex. With the Cold War dominating American life, an entire section of the economy has been given over to war production. The military dispenses billions of dollars of contracts; it is a powerful voice in the formulation of foreign policy; it has become much more of a power in American society than ever before.

As Waldemar A. Nielson of the Ford Foundation put it in a New York Times article, "The military services operate a far-flung international broadcasting network. Defense exchange-of-persons programs are much larger than those of the civilian agencies.

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Defense officials, civilian and in uniform, make several times as many speeches and write several times as many articles bearing on foreign policy as officials of the Department of State. And through its links with a battalion of national organizations, the Defense Department has a built-in system of communication with the American people unequalled in scale by anything available to other Federal agencies."

This new military intervention in the civilian life of the nation has brought generals and admirals into a close relation with the commanding heights of corporate power. For example, large corporations more and more find it necessary to hire retired military leaders at the top levels of executive responsibility. In short, two of the most powerful bureaucracies in society have a certain convergence of interest, a web of professional and social ties, a tendency toward a common outlook.

Not every General is an Ultra; neither is every corporate executive. What this report shows is that there is a significant, and most dangerous, tendency for an important section of the military-industrial complex to put its enormous power behind right wing extremism.

The source of this development is in the Cold War. Broadly, there are two types of response to the threat of Communist totalitarianism. On the one hand, there are those who see the Communists as capturing and perverting a basically progressive social revolution, particularly in the colonial movements for national liberation. From this point of view, the struggle against Communism is the fight to develop democratic alternatives for the revolutionary movements of our time. This, to one degree or another, is the approach of American liberalism, of the most responsible leaders of the major churches, of the socially conscious trade unionists, of the civil rights movement.

The other response to the Communist challenge grows out of a mood of frustration and desperation. It is a form of political paranoia. The problem is defined as one of evil conspiracies. If only the handful of Communist plotters, people who have infiltrated every Government on the face of the earth, could be rooted out, then there would be peace and order.

This warped version of reality has roots in both corporate and military life. Executives and military men have a common interest in preserving the cold-war economy, a twentieth century phenomenon which has provided the United States with an easy solution to the problem posed by an undirected economy. The \$400 billion spent in the past nine years on defense needs has also provided much of the capital which American business has needed in a new age of technology. Any attempt to cut military budgets or to shift spending from one phase of the "defense industry" to another, is met by mournful forecasts from those with vested interests.

The officer class sees questioning of military spending as less than patriotic. The expansion of the military influence over the past decade has been commensurate with the increase in military spending. At no time in American history has a professional corps of officers had so much influence on public opinion. Whether on Berlin, Latin America, Southeast Asia or neutralism, military men are listened to, and are given public forums in the press of this nation, so that the "hard line" of military thinking is often the daily fare of newspaper readers. The adulation of military heroes is not an American phenomenon but military leaders are not slow to take advantage of the aura of infallibility with which they are now draped in the national press.

The slogan which big business and the military have adopted to preserve their pre-eminence, solidify their common interests, and extract support from the public, is "total victory". Thus, any attempt to modify the social structure is classified as irrelevant in time of "war". Increased spending in the critical areas of health and education is publicized as a plot to undermine the moral fibre of Americans. Talk of negotiation, suggestions that all men have a vital interest in self-preservation, even a hint that compromise on certain matters is possible—such talk is anathema to the Ultras of the brass and big business.

To the military men the notion that Communist advances result from basic social discontent is incomprehensible. For them the problem is one of logistics. If the Communists advance through the use of guerilla warfare, as in Southeast Asia, then we must train guerilla fighters. Consequently Mao Tse Tung and Che Guevara are being furiously studied in the US Army today. But, of course, guerilla warfare without a political program that corresponds with the deep felt yearnings of the native population is nothing but gangsterism in uniform and it must fail. It is this that the military men do not and cannot understand.

It is significant that the French military Ultras in Algeria too have taken to studying Mao on guerilla warfare. But the French officers have gone a step further. They learned through experience that the techniques alone, without a revolutionary political mission, were useless. So they developed the mission, which, not surprisingly, took on a fascist coloration.

General Edwin Walker, in his statement of resignation from the Army, offered another, and more basic, clue to the problem. He talked of the "soldiers on the frontline outposts, continuously manned night and day, year after year . . ." The cold war after all, has been with us for a long time. And for the men who have been in the armed forces throughout, as have most of the top military leaders, this has meant incessant tension and strain. Moreover to that strain has been added the bewilderment that stemmed from our losses. Not only have they always believed, as do all Americans

that this nation is invincible, that we simply do not lose wars, but they have witnessed setbacks in the face of US military superiority. Our stockpile of bombs is larger than the Russians, we have more airbases than they do, our industrial capacity is superior to theirs. How then explain our constant posture of defensiveness and actual series of defeats, one after the other: Eastern Europe, China, Korea, Cuba, Laos?

The explanation of course lies in that area in which most of the generals are hopelessly uninformed: politics. They neither know nor care about the passionate aspirations of some peasant in China or student in Cuba. Consequently they do not even begin to understand the problem of Communism which is winning because of its counterfeit identification with the world revolution while American democracy carries the albatross of capitalism and the status quo around its neck.

Given this lack of understanding, the next step in the thinking of so many of the generals is almost inevitable. If we are militarily stronger than the Russians but it is they who keep gaining the victories, then it must be that we are being betrayed. And since "everyone knows" that the chief, if not only, method of operation of Communists is "subversion", that must be the answer to the mystery. Indeed, this is how General Walker sees the problem. He was out there fighting and getting shot at all those years; World War II, Greece, China, Korea, while at home the Communists were subverting all over the place. And of course it is the "politicians" who are to blame. Here is how he states it: "We are at war. We are infiltrated. We are losing that war every day. Are our hands tied, yours and mine? We need a substitute for defeat. If it is not within the power of this Congress to provide it—then the people of these United States are not truly represented." And further, "They (the Communists) long ago have infiltrated our government so that a scheme of subversion can be traced through three decades."

Once this reactionary definition of reality is made, politics becomes the police activity of ferreting out spies, dupes, and traitors. Every movement of dissent and of protest becomes suspect because these are seen as the natural arena of Communist agents. Insofar as this point of view gains strength, every attempt of the people to better their life or to express their ideas is seen as the work of foreign agents or their native accomplices. Trade unionists, Negroes in the civil rights movement, courageous churchmen, idealistic students, are under a cloud.

In the process the American Ultras set a vicious circle into motion. They first develop their devil-theory politics out of a violent, irrational, desperate response to the complexities of the world power struggle. Then, basing themselves on significant social forces in this society, particularly on the military-industrial complex, they are able to influence American political life. The more strength they

gain, the less is the nation able to develop an effective democratic alternative to Communist totalitarianism. The Ultra sees the Communist in the guise of spy or agent, but not as a totalitarian seeking, and sometimes winning, the leadership of dynamic and historic movements for social change. This aids the Communist and it increases the frustration of the Ultras. Desperation breeds desperation; the politics of paranoia create a situation in which the paranoid fantasy finds it confirmation.

The power of the American Ultras cannot be detailed in depth. It can only be measured by those who can penetrate behind the doors of corporate and military offices. Yet there are already alarming, visible signs of the growth of Ultra influence and power in the military-industrial complex.

This pamphlet is a documentation of the growing menace of the American Ultras.

Reveille in Glenview

"... You know what our national objective is . . . ? You wouldn't believe it. It's 'world peace through enforceable law'. In other words, some of our leaders seem to have a surrender complex."—Admiral Chester Ward (ret.), Institute for American Strategy.

RESIDENTS in the Chicago area received mail stamped "Official Business" from the Glenview Naval Air Base in the summer of 1960. The envelopes contained invitations to attend a 5 day conference at the base to "motivate an active force against moral decay . . . and to bring an awareness of the ominous hammer and sickle."

The military and civilians from Illinois who attended that conference may have thought that a local patriotic group was performing a community service, or that Frank Vignola, the Forest Park furniture dealer, was after more members for his anti-Communist organization, Education for American Security, Inc.

In actual fact, the Glenview conference was the result of a Pentagon campaign to tell Americans what they should, and should not, think about the Cold War and Communism.

From Seattle to Pensacola, the military, with the assistance of a dozen or more anti-Communist right wing groups, had given

thousands of lectures, promoted films, books and journals of opinion favoring their point of view. Admiral Ward, a leader in the campaign to brainwash America, and a former Judge Advocate General, was sufficiently enthused by the success of the program that, in June 1961, he felt Americans were thinking "with their guts". This non-cerebral process is described by Admiral Ward as follows:

"Americans are tired of defeats. They are tired of surrenders covered up as 'negotiated settlements'. They are, indeed, tired of so much talk and so little action by our leaders. For the first time in sixteen years of the cold war, a demand for victory is beginning to roll into Washington."

The Glenview conference undoubtedly helped the demand, for at that 5 day session the "big guns" of the far right were brought in to direct their fire at influential leaders around the Chicago area. Along with the base commander, Captain Isaiah Hampton, who is a key figure in the "demand for victory" movement, these men took part: Frank Barnett, former Rhodes Scholar, who is Program Director for the Institute for American Strategy and the Richardson Foundation; Dr. Fred Schwarz, founder and the head of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, who describes his crusade as "the 'unorganized army' for the Republic of the United States . . ."; E. Merrill Root, member of the Committee of Endorsers of the John Birch Society and author of "Brainwashing in the High Schools" and "Collectivism on the Campus"; Richard Arens, ex-staff director of the House UnAmerican Activities Committee, also a "specialist" for the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade in "Ferretting Out Communists in Government"; Herbert Philbrick, ex-Communist, author of "I Led Three Lives"; Dr. Herbert Niemeyer, Notre Dame University, who is a member of the Institute for American Strategy "Education Committee"; Dr. Anthony Bouscaren, former faculty member, National War College, Associate Professor of Political Science at Le Moyne College, Syracuse, N. Y., and another "specialist" for the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade.

Three officers from the Glenview base also spoke during the 5 day conference and three other officers, Rear Admiral W. McKechnie, Major William Mayer and Vice Admiral Robert Goldthwaite traveled to bolster the military point of view.

The "enemies slain" at the Glenview base that week, according to the Christian Century, included "liberals, modernists, John Dewey, Harvard students, high school students, the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, textbooks, the American Friends Service Committee, pacifists, the New York Times and Herald Tribune, the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, naive ministers. The heroes lauded by the speakers were conservatism, Senator Barry Goldwater, conservative Baptists, J. B. Matthews and the nuclear bomb."

Those who attended were assured that they "will acquire the experience, poise and know-how which we hope will germinate into

discussion groups being organized in every community of the mid-west." But Captain Hampton and his men were reluctant to allow civilians off the base without a "hard sell". In a leaflet entitled "Information Sheet on anti-Communist Seminar" it was stated that "a specific attempt will be made to encourage attendees to join such anti-Communist organizations as the Christian anti-Communist Crusade, the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation, and Education for American Security."

This blatant attempt by military officers to indoctrinate the civilian population and to bludgeon them into joining selected organizations with the "correct" point of view was indefensible. The American Civil Liberties Union took up the matter with the then Secretary of the Navy who reported that he had ordered the Glenview base to cease official sponsorship of such activities. However, on November 30, Dr. Schwarz was back again heading up a program which featured an "Action Report" and Captain Hampton, undeterred by the ban, commenced a blitz on the surrounding communities by sending out groups of men to convert the fainthearted.

On February 23, 1961, three Glenview men in uniform lectured 400 civilians at the American Legion Hall in Fox Lake, Illinois. For four hours these people were told how to write letters to TV sponsors, how to disseminate anti-Communist literature and how to develop a "challenging program of individual action". "Progressive education" was ridiculed because, said a Glenview man "the enemy cannot be defeated by throwing basketballs and footballs at them."

Trios of experts were also sent to Waukegan, Peoria and North Chicago where a Lt. Commander Charles Bigler spoke on "the problems faced by President Kennedy and Congress in dealing with Khrushchev."

Undaunted by the fact that the Glenview affair had involved military men who were second guessing the President and Congress, Captain Hampton travelled to Chicago where he spoke for "We the People", another in the lengthening list of "anti-Communist" groups organized to brainwash the public. The affair took place in the Sheraton Towers Hotel on March 24 and Captain Hampton took the platform along with Billy James Hargis, William K. Lambie of the American Security Council and others to encourage firm opposition to "higher debt and taxes", "government controls" and "socialism".

Despite warnings and directives from Government departments forbidding more Glenviews, the pro-blue brainwashing to persuade Americans that a victory in World War III is possible continues. On August 9th, Westbrook Pegler announced that Der Tag was dawning. Detecting "a remarkably intelligent and determined rising of unacquainted but sympathetic Americans everywhere", Pegler announced that "It may be the first outcry in a grand revolution—led by not a general but by a hundred of the best generals and

admirals that the country has yet produced."

In Washington, Senator Fulbright suggested that the White House and the Defense Department should "begin the process of formulating directives which will bring such military activities under effective civilian control". Despite the complaints arriving in Washington, the Pentagon merely "admonished" General Walker, forbade the use of one film "Communism on the Map" and relegated another, "Operation Abolition" to a "when-asked-for-basis". Mild steps indeed in face of Pegler's "Grand Revolt".

It seems obvious that the massive dose of military propaganda which the public has received since 1958 has taken effect and that any attempt to steer the generals, admirals and lesser minions back into the ranks will be received with suspicion by many. For three years they have been told that that is exactly the kind of ruse that Communists specialize in. More than a dozen "anti-Communist" groups have paraded soldiers onto platforms of alerts, alarms, forums and strategy sessions to tell the people that the war is on. It's a peculiar kind of war, fought with words instead of bullets, full of subversion, treason, appeasement, welfarism, socialism, red ministers, spies, tampered textbooks, Pugwash professors, egghead showoffs and newspapers that are telling the people far too much about everything.

This hysteria was promoted in 1958 by a *top secret* directive issued by the President, implemented by the Pentagon, elaborated by the dozens of anti-Communist groups throughout the country and financed, produced and directed by foundations, millionaires with patriotic instincts, fraternal bands, Chambers of Commerce and Catholic, Baptist, Fundamentalist, and Christian Crusades. The sheer volume of this propaganda spewed from hundreds of platforms, books, films and do-it-yourself pamphlets for those who want to catch their very own Communist, has had an effect opposite to that intended. Instead of strengthening the moral fibre of the nation, broadening understanding of Communism, untangling the complexities of Cold War policy and finding common ground with other democratic countries, the Ultras indulge in a masochistic, xenophobic search for spies under the roof of the garrison. Distrust everybody, check with me before you sign, better dead than red, he's on the list, that's a commie paper, they've already taken over—these are slogans taken seriously by those who have been innoculated by the needle of fear.

770 WEST HILL

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APPLETON, WISCONSIN

Who Are the Ultras?

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY - 1800 FBSUSA

IT WAS in the Spring of 1961 that the nation first began to realize that a new wave of rightism had begun to descend on the land.

Newspapers began to carry stories about a John Birch society that had mushroomed forth in one community after the other, spreading a gospel of hate and fear. Its founder and leader, Robert Welch, a retired candy manufacturer in Belmont, Massachusetts, was touring the country speaking to overflow audiences in one community after the other. His message, delivered in tones that combined lowbrow scholarliness with door-to-door salesmanship, sounded reactionary but odd. The first reaction to it of most moderates was one of puzzlement and a momentary hesitation; as if not knowing whether to laugh or be angry. For Welch's theme went as follows: Communism has all but conquered the entire world and the United States is already 40 to 60 percent Communist dominated. He also maintained that the countries of Western Europe, and especially those with Social Democratic governments, were really Communist controlled; that all of Asia was lost, including India, whose Prime Minister Nehru was a "Marxist"; that the Middle East and Africa had been taken over under the leadership of those out and out "Communists" Nasser and Nkrumah; and that Latin America had been subverted, not only by Castro but even more so by Romulo Betancourt of Venezuela and Victor Paz Estenssoro of Bolivia. These claims seemed wild enough in view of the fact that every one of them was simply the opposite of the truth, but Welch did not stop there.

It was when he got to the United States that he really seemed to become frenzied. He claimed that just about every nationally respected leader in both major parties was a hidden Communist: Chester Bowles, Charles E. Bohlen, Arthur H. Dean, the late John Foster Dulles, Allen Dulles, Milton Eisenhower, Walter Reuther, Maxwell Rabb, Eleanor Roosevelt, Harry Truman; it was hard to think of a name, other than that of Dwight D. Eisenhower, whom Welch didn't literally call a Communist. But then some enterprising newspaperman dug up a manuscript written by Welch, entitled "The Politician", and there it was: Dwight D. Eisenhower was a "card carrying" Communist.

The rest of Welch's basic doctrine was a similar brew of reaction and irrationalism. "Democracy is a perennial fraud" and America is not and was never intended to be a democracy, but only a republic; the U.N. is an "intended Communist International" and

ought to be destroyed; civil rights is a Communist notion and is for them "an exact parallel to the slogan 'agrarian reform' by which they conquered China"; Chief Justice Warren is a "Communist" and should be impeached. The income tax ought to be abolished. Finally Welch unveiled his own unique contribution to the understanding of history, his answer to the Marxian dialectic: the principle of "reversal." According to this principle everyone else has failed to understand the Communists because they thought they meant what they said, while the actual truth of the matter is that the Communists really mean the very opposite of what they say. Thus, if Khrushchev bangs his shoe on the desk and shouts "Hammerskjold must go," he really wants Hammerskjold to stay. Or if the Communists denounce U.S. foreign aid as an instrumentality of American imperialism, they really want the U.S. to extend aid to underdeveloped countries. Until we understand this fundamental principle, says Welch, we will continue to play into the hands of the Communists.

These bewildering ideas seem ridiculous, and indeed they are. Yet, with them the Birch Society has grown into a powerful organization, as we shall see. And paradoxically their growth has been due, in part, to their program. First, the startling quality of the ideas proved to be tailor-made for publicity. As one newspaperman said, "Anyone who calls Eisenhower a Communist is certain to get publicity." Second, with few exceptions, each major point in the Welch program appealed to a sector of the right-of-center community.

In sum, the Society successfully appeals to a wide grouping that is funnelled into its ranks and that in turn goes out to spread the special Birch Society brand of character assassination, nationalistic xenophobia, and out and out hatred of democracy.

FRED SCHWARZ' CRUSADE

Competing with the John Birch Society for the honor of being the mainstream of the Ultra-right is the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade. The Crusade is led by Dr. Fred Schwarz, an Australian who, in 1953, landed here with \$10 in his pocket, some experience as a lay Baptist preacher, and a grandiose scheme for a crusade against Communism. Eight years later, Schwarz had a booming business, grossing \$1 million a year; a staff of lecturers who took to the lecture circuit with the zeal of a Billy Sunday; and a reputation, among right wingers, as the most knowledgeable man on Communism in the United States.

Schwarz differs from Welch in many ways. He is a much more fiery and aggressive speaker, he is more of a showman, his entire operation has more of an evangelistic air about it. Yet, oddly enough, where Welch seems at times to be straining his wits to think of startling and radical things to say, Schwarz' tactic is to play it close to the vest. His every word seems calculated to fit a

carefully designed formula: say enough to whip the audience up into a frenzy, but never so much that you leave yourself open to attack. And although Schwarz has been here only eight years, he knows his America. He realizes that so long as he sticks with the theme of "anti-Communism", no matter how much he distorts and lies, he's safe from attack. For example, one of his favorite themes is that in Communist countries they practice a form of "animal husbandry" on human beings in order to breed a race of supermen. In one of the Crusade's best selling items, a comic book on Communism for the kiddies, he shows brutish looking Communist guards shoving the aged and the crippled into a concentration camp. The text says that these pitiful looking people are to be slaughtered as part of the Communist theory of breeding supermen by getting rid of the weak and the maim. Actually this charge is rubbish. There simply is no such theory or practice in Russia. But what is more important, what kind of a man would create such a sadistic fable out of whole cloth and then decide to turn it into a comic book for children? Yet this is typical of the Schwarz technique. For who is there, especially in the world of the mass media, who will charge him with exaggerating the evils of Communism?

Much, but not all, of the Crusade's program conforms to this pattern. Some of it is true; after all Communism is an inhuman system that deserves to be criticized and attacked. But still other parts of Schwarz' program have nothing whatever to do with anti-Communism and indeed reveal the extreme rightist basis of his thinking. Occasionally the Doctor allows a card to be seen, both in what his Crusade says and what it does.

A favorite theme of the ultra right is that American educational institutions are centers of subversion. As we have seen, "Collectivism on the Campus" and "Brainwashing in the High Schools" are the names of two right wing best sellers by E. Merrill Root. Schwarz, it seems, fully shares this thesis. "University of Murder" is the title of a Crusade pamphlet which states, "Many people today are confusing freedom with license . . . under the guise of academic freedom, anti-American ideologies are being propagated such as pacifism, surrender, and even free love." Schwarz' close associate and regular lecturer for the Crusade, Herbert Philbrick, selects one particular university, Princeton, as his fantastic target. Princeton, says Philbrick, refuses to allow any anti-Communists to lecture on its campus.

Actually there is method in this madness. After bombarding the public with this kind of propaganda, local right wing groups then make demands upon Boards of Education for a review of textbooks and course outlines to make certain that they are 100 per cent "Americanist". And in a number of states they have succeeded, including states like Texas in which Schwarz has been especially active.

"Treason in high places" is virtually the anthem of the radical right. And the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade doesn't shirk from joining the chorus. "The Supreme Court" says one of the Crusade's booklets, is guilty of ruling in 1957 "that subversion is now protected under the First Amendment of the Constitution." Then in the pamphlet "Hangman's Noose" Schwarz finds the nation being choked by treason. "Haven't our international policies since World War II helped build an exhausted and impoverished Communist bloc of nations into the greatest menace in world history?", asks the Doctor rhetorically. "Are the people who made these policies—and continue to do so—traitors or just ignorant of the Communist aspirations? An answer to these questions must be found almost immediately." (emphasis added)

BILLY HARGIS

Billy James Hargis is a fundamentalist preacher with a powerful bent toward politics and business. He specializes in smiting not the devil, but in his own words, "modernists", "leftists", "socialists" and "Communists". Hargis is a young man of 36 who looks very much like a fat rock and roll musician. From his appearance it would seem that he weighs about 300 pounds. Yet, he's an energetic man. He's constantly on the go, criss-crossing the country addressing rallies that are often bedecked with huge banners proclaiming, "For Christ! Against Communism!"

Hargis is a graduate of the Ozark Bible School ("a little college of some 20 students, no longer there") and his oratory shows it. Although he started out practicing the old time religion, he soon discovered that the market was more suited to political rather than religious primitivism. But he didn't drop religion altogether; instead he decided to make a blend of the two. He also plays politics within the field of religious organizations, being the leader of a fundamentalist faction whose main aim is the destruction of the National Council of Churches, the main coordinating body of the Protestant Churches in America. One of his booklets is entitled "The National Council of Churches indicts itself on 50 Counts of Treason to God and Country." Hargis claims that 7,000 Protestant Ministers are Communists, although when challenged to prove it he offers only a mouldy mixture of innuendo and half truths.

Billy James heads two organizations, the Christian Crusade and We the People! He himself was the founder of the Crusade and it is still his main arena of operation. Headquartered in Tulsa, Oklahoma, with its own building and a staff of 35, the Crusade claims tax exemption as a religious organization, although its objectives appear primarily political. Each year the Crusade holds a "Summit Meeting" of about a thousand stalwarts. At the 1961 Summit the main speaker was Robert Welch who announced his essay contest for high school students on "Why Chief Justice War-

ren Should be Impeached." Welch and Hargis are extremely close; the latter is a member of the Committee of Endorsers of the John Birch Society. But Hargis operates much less secretly and his religious veneer seems to give courage to prominent persons who might avoid public association with Welch. Thus the following political figures have endorsed or praised Hargis' work publicly: Gov. Orvil Faubus of Arkansas; Congressman Noah Mason, (R. of Ill.); Congressman James C. Davis, (D. of Georgia); Congressman Dale Alford, (D. of Arkansas). The Christian Crusade operates a full scale program of propaganda activities, reaching millions each year. It skillfully uses every medium of communication: books, pamphlets, magazines, films, tapes, radio, TV, and revivalist meetings. A by-product of the organization is "Nutri-Bio", a food supplement which is sold at \$24 for a six months supply. Hargis says that "glowing good health can be yours", if you take it regularly. Asked why a Minister of God should be peddling drug products, Billy James replied that healthy bodies are as important as healthy minds in the fight against Communism. Thousands of his agents sell Nutri-Bio, at a commission, in the United States and Canada. They can often be seen, especially in rural areas, with black and bright green Nutri-Bio bumper strips on their cars.

A major activity of the Christian Crusade is to make available to "selected" organizations and individuals information on "thousands of clergymen and educators who have chosen to affiliate with Communist front organizations over the years." The information is from its files ("the largest and most extensive private anti-Communist files in America today") acquired from Allen A. Zoll. Zoll's organization, American Patriots, Inc., was listed as "fascist" by U.S. Attorney General Tom Clark.

Hargis is the President of We the People!, but he didn't found it. Organized several years ago by Harry Everingham, who is still its Executive Vice President, Hargis was brought in recently to give it glamour and go. This he has done. From its head office in Chicago, We the People! has taken on an importance that it never had before Hargis joined it. Originally it seemed to be a smallish ultra right propaganda league that specialized in midwestern corn belt politics. For a long time its members were divided between those who wanted to operate within the right wing of the Republican Party and those sectarian elements who looked toward the formation of a new third party. When Hargis took over the organization, that question was settled: We the People! now operates in and around the Republican Party. Like the Birch Society and others of the same stripe, its hero, although not without some misgivings, is Senator Barry Goldwater.

We the People! issues two publications, "Free Enterprise" and "Action News for Anti-Communists." The June, 1961 issue of the former recommended as suitable reading material for real Ameri-

cans several outright fascist and race hate magazines, including Gerald L. K. Smith's "The Cross and the Flag" and "Common Sense," published in Union, N. J. The racist overtones of We the People! are also evident in an article in the September, 1960 issue of "Free Enterprise" by Revilo P. Oliver, a Birch Society leader who teaches at the University of Illinois. "The Batista Government in Cuba was not, to be sure, a perfect government," said Oliver, "but it was probably as good a government as one could reasonably expect to find in an island largely populated by mongrels." Winding up, Oliver warned against, "the tentacles of conspiracy (reaching) into your home town, where the puppets are promoting fluoridation, 'mental health', and innumerable other plans to accustom us to gradually increased slavery and intimidation."

Interestingly, Hargis travels around in a huge Greyhound bus which he acquired recently and remade into a headquarters on wheels. The bus boasts sleeping accommodations, a sort of combination conference-living room, and a work room complete with office equipment. In his bus he rolls into towns throughout the South and West addressing rallies with his revivalist-style sermons of hate and fear. Overhead the banners blaze forth, "For Christ! Against Communism!"

THE SEARCY COMPLEX

One of the most enterprising figures on the extreme right is Dr. George S. Benson, who has taken the little-known town of Searcy in central Arkansas and turned it into a beehive of ultra activities. Benson is the President of Harding College, a fundamentalist institution which he took over in 1936 and converted from a sleepy, run down campus into a snappy, business-like educational factory. But the curriculum at Harding is somewhat different from that at most colleges, including denominational ones. In addition to turning out loyal followers of the Church of Christ, the sect that operates the school, he also instills in his students a militant faith in "free enterprise" and "100 per cent Americanism," Benson style.

The school's physical improvement and the message it imparts are not unrelated. Whether Benson decided first to "Americanize" the curriculum and then went after big business contributions as an afterthought, or whether the two were part of his plan from the start is not known. But Harding has been the recipient of generous donations from men and businesses who would not ordinarily look to central Arkansas for colleges to endow.

In 1949, Benson got \$300,000 from the late Alfred P. Sloan, President of General Motors. Charles R. Hook, then chairman of the Board of Armco Steel gave some more, as did the executives of a significant group of other wealthy business organizations. By May, 1961, when Cabell Phillips of the New York Times visited Searcy,

the campus boasted 10 attractive new buildings, an eleventh in progress, and an endowment fund of \$6,000,000, "virtually all of it from industrial donors."

This record of progress was not due solely to the work done on Harding students. From the beginning Dr. Benson sought larger horizons by radiating his propaganda throughout the state, region, and finally the entire country. Until several years ago his message was rather simple: what's good for big business is good for the country. He vigorously opposed the New Deal and all welfare legislation, attacked unionism as "monopolistic," championed "Right to Work" proposals, and attacked anything that smacked of "socialism," i.e. liberalism. All this he did in radio broadcasts that were offered free to any station willing to take them, canned newspaper columns that could also be had for the asking, and endless speeches before American Legion Posts, Chambers of Commerce and similar groups.

Then, in 1949, Benson took a step upwards toward the big time. With the \$300,000 contributed by Sloan he organized the National Education Program, with himself as President, and began to produce a series of films designed to pack a greater wallop than mere lectures. To the films was added still another National Education Program project, the organization of Freedom Forums throughout the country. These are a sort of three day patriotic encampment with fees ranging from \$80 to \$100 a person.

Along with these new techniques came an ominous shift in program. If in the old days Benson's message was of the common garden reactionary variety it is now distinctly of a radical rightist stripe. A full fledged chapter of the John Birch Society has been organized in Searcy and the proceedings of one of its meetings was described in a recent issue of the National Education Program's Newsletter. Welch, in turn, has lavished praise on Dr. Benson and his work in the Bulletin of the Birch Society. The new "line" is graphically represented in the N.E.P. film "Communism on the Map," undoubtedly Benson's most sensational accomplishment to date. The film will be discussed at greater length later, but its message can be quickly summarized: 1. Communism has already conquered the entire world, except for West Germany, Formosa, Switzerland and the United States 2. The main danger we face is that of internal subversion which has already made deep inroads in labor, Government, and communications 3. Liberalism equals socialism equals communism.

If this sounds like Birchism, it's no accident. The film was produced by one of Benson's assistants, Glenn A. Green, who boasts of his membership in the Birch Society. Whole sections of the film are virtually identical, word for word, with the Blue Book of the John Birch Society.

These then are some of the main organizations of the ultra right. There are others; hundreds of them, large and small, rich and poor, crackpot and cynically shrewd. We shall discuss some of them at a

later point, but here let us consider the meaning of the organizations we have described.

Extreme rightism is not a new phenomenon in America. This country has always had its reactionary wing, and sooner or later the rightist threats have died down, to be succeeded by a new wave at a later point. In the thirties we had a burgeoning of out and out fascist organizations, but the New Deal mobilized the overwhelming majority, and the rightists were never able to snatch the ball away from Roosevelt, the CIO, and the moderate left. More recently we experienced the McCarthy era: witchhunting in the schools, in Government, in the entertainment industry, almost everywhere. That too passed, although not because it was defeated by a popular anti-McCarthy movement. Actually it is questionable whether McCarthyism died or went into hibernation. McCarthy himself was vanquished from above, by the Army and the Administration. The Senator died a short while later. But did his followers who numbered in the millions, actually change their minds, their attitudes? Did a new wave of genuine tolerance for dissent and respect for due process vanquish witchhunting and the witchhunters? That is doubtful.

Nevertheless, what we are experiencing today is not merely the revival of McCarthyism. McCarthy had a huge following, but he did not have an organization. Those who shared his fears and hates were never actually mobilized to go out and do battle. Furthermore, the mood that prevailed in this nation was not then so desperate as now. There was not so intense a feeling that the nation was battling for its life. Global war did not seem so imminent; there was no comparable frenzied rush to build fallout shelters. The nation as a whole was not then so close to the "moment of truth," that decisive point in world history that would determine America's future as the leading world power.

Today we appear to be on the very brink of that moment. Yet, where there should be the calm determination that comes from sureness of purpose, there is instead a growing mood of doubt that even shows signs at the edges of turning into irrational panic. The cries increase for a showdown of force: "Better dead than red."

It is in this atmosphere that the appearance of new ultra right seems so dangerous. They have organization and a large, active rank and file membership. They appeal to the growing mood of desperation and in turn feed that mood. They have established important ties with the ruling political party in America, the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition. They have made deep inroads into the military-industrial complex, the most decisive single center of power in the nation.

This is the context in which the significance of the new right must be viewed. And it is in this context that the Fulbright-McNamara-Thurmond affair must be considered.

The Brass Birchers

THE American press has made frequent references to the Fulbright memorandum, but no newspaper has carried a detailed account of that important document. Originally sent to Secretary of Defense McNamara in the Summer of 1961, its publication sounded a warning to the Ultras that the carte blanche which the 1958 directive had given them in propagandizing the nation was being seriously questioned in the Kennedy cabinet.

Speaking on the floor of the Senate, Fulbright said: "There has been a strong tradition in this country that it is not the function of the military to educate the public on political issues. Military officers are not elected by the people and they have no responsibility for the formulation of policies other than military policies. Their function is to carry out policies formulated by officials who are responsible to the electorate. This tradition is rooted in the constitutional principle that the President is the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces and that, therefore, military personnel are not to participate in activities which undermine his policies."

The reaction of the Ultras to this mild rebuke indicated that within three years, they considered their position so entrenched with the public that they felt public opinion would rally to the right. Dixiecrat Senator Strom Thurmond, a reserve General, Senator Goldwater, an Air Force Reserve General and other legislators led the attack on Fulbright in Washington. In Arkansas, Fulbright's home state, Dr. George Benson and his staff at Harding College began a campaign aimed at defeating the Senator's bid for re-election in 1962. Conservative newspapers reported the fracas in Washington as another attempt to "muzzle patriots."

The complete text of the Fulbright memorandum was printed in the Congressional Record. Yet, however much the publication of the memorandum may have pained the Ultras, the fact is that the document was not an attempt to catalogue the misdeeds of the military. This chapter, and the mass of material in this pamphlet makes clear that the memorandum merely reported events that had attracted the attention of the national press, and did not attempt a comprehensive study of Ultra-right activities in the military.

Moreover the Memorandum avoided important details of many of the events that it reported. For example, point 8 of the 11 rightist "alerts" and "seminars" cited merely stated that "Dr. Fred Schwarz held a seminar at Headquarters 8th Naval District, New Orleans, which was endorsed by Rear Adm. W. G. Schindler, Commandant." But for a more rounded picture of Schwarz' visit, consider the following letter which was received by *New America*, the Socialist Party's

newspaper. The author's name is known to the editors, but for obvious reasons he has asked that it not be used in this public report.

November 10, 1961

Editor, New America
1182 Broadway
New York, New York
Dear Sirs:

Your excellent article "Rightist Fred Schwarz Humbles Life Magazine," which appeared in the November 10 issue of New America, recalled to my mind a hot August in 1959 when the Naval Station and Eighth Naval District Headquarters in New Orleans were subjected to Mr. Schwarz' "brainwashing" for two days.

Mr. Schwarz' visit was coordinated through the Chaplain's Office, Eighth Naval District. Heavy pressure was exerted from the Commandant on down, making it nearly mandatory for the entire officer corps of the Headquarters and Naval Station to attend at least part of the sessions. The inducement for the enlisted men was the opportunity to vary routine by skipping regular work for the movies and lectures of Mr. Schwarz. This "seminar" was held in the auditorium-movie theatre, which is a naval building. Naval equipment, such as projectors, etc. was freely used by Mr. Schwarz, and naval personnel ran these machines.

Make no mistake, Mr. Schwarz gave a first rate performance. He is a very able speaker and knows just what he is about. He warned us against anything left of McCarthy. The auditorium was generally filled. The Commandant officially introduced Mr. Schwarz, and the "seminar" was as official as it could possibly be.

The speaker impressed me as being long on conclusions and very short on facts backing them up. However, the general crusade atmosphere conjured up by him created an enthusiasm which left little room for analytic judgment on the part of the audience.

Mr. Schwarz was equally effective in separating the sailor from his cash. He had a variety of books, pamphlets, subscriptions, memberships, etc. for sale and I was amazed at the response.

The two day visit of Mr. Schwarz to the Naval Station did not end his influence on the Eighth Naval District. His speeches were recorded by navy machines on navy tapes by naval technicians. Copies of these tapes were distributed by the Chaplain's Office, 8ND, to the various reserve components throughout the Eighth Naval District. For example, listening to these tapes was required of all the officers in the Naval Reserve Intelligence Program, 8ND. Hence the number of naval officers and men who listened to the speeches of Mr. Schwarz numbered well into the thousands.

You can see, then, why I was interested in your article. I've seen Mr. Schwarz in action and can testify from experience that he is a powerful influence against liberal thought.

Sincerely,
A former naval officer stationed
at U.S.N.S., New Orleans

Some months after the Fulbright Memo was submitted to Defense Secretary McNamara, during the week of September 22, 1961, Army Reservists in San Antonio, Texas received a communication from Lt. Col. Ira L. Beard informing them that an "Americanism Seminar" would be held at the Municipal Auditorium. The seminar was endorsed

by the Junior Chamber of Commerce and the U.S. Fourth Army. The Lt. Colonel's letter stated, "Personnel from this office will be available at the Municipal Auditorium to assist individual reservists in preparing D.A. Form 1380 for the award of point credit" and asked the reservists to give the program "wide publicity".

The featured speakers at the seminar were Senator Strom Thurmond, General Albert C. Wedemeyer, contributing editor of the Birch Society journal "American Opinion", W. Cleon Skousen, of the American Security Council and Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, Col. R. B. Thieme, a frequent speaker for the National Education Program of Searcy, Arkansas, and Dr. Gerhart Niemeyer.

A hot controversy over the program developed among citizens of San Antonio. The Local N.A.A.C.P. denounced the seminar and described Thurmond as a "race-baiter" and the other speakers as "either members of the Birch Society or sympathetic thereto". The Texas Observer quoted a local Negro leader as stating the seminar would feature a "Birch, Thurmond, Eastland" philosophy, and called Thurmond "the worst race-baiter that anyone knows". But the official publication of the South Texas Chamber of Commerce, the "South Texan," said, "It is time for the American people to decide who is going to run this country—patriots or pinks".

When Arthur Sylvester, Assistant Secretary of Defense, was contacted about this affair by La Prensa, an English-Spanish newspaper, he said the Fourth Army is "lending administrative assistance, not co-sponsoring the seminar", but the public information officer of the Fourth Army, Lt. Col. John Thisler, saw it differently. According to the Texas Observer, when asked "if the Fourth Army was co-sponsoring the program or merely giving assistance to it," Thisler replied, "Either way you want it—co-sponsoring or supporting—it means the same thing." The seminar was held as scheduled.

Other military misdeeds not reported in the Fulbright Memo, though they occurred before the Memo was written, were the following events.

1. "Attention, all hands", read the Jan. 9, 1961 notice from Commander J. H. Allen to the men of the U.S. Navy Electronics Laboratory in San Diego, Calif. Officers and sailors were urged to attend a San Diego "Freedom Forum", produced by the National Education Program and held at the U.S. Grant Hotel. Included in Commander Allen's notice was a copy of the program and a coupon for attendance at the Forum.

The program featured two top active military leaders and a host of extreme rightist civilians. The military spokesmen were Vice Admiral E. C. Ekstrom, U.S.N. COMNAVAIRPAC, and Rear Admiral H. L. Miller U.S.N. Chief of Staff, COMNAVAIRPAC. The civilians were Glen A. Green, then of the National Education Program and now a full time coordinator for the John Birch Society, Dr. George S. Benson, President of the National Education Program and

Harding College, Dr. Clifton Ganus of Harding College, Edward Peterson, billed as a "former naval intelligence officer," who spoke on "How Communism is Financed by the Sale of Narcotics in the U.S.", Dr. William E. Fort, Education Director of the extremist California Free Enterprise Association, Dr. Kenneth D. Wells, President of Freedoms Foundation of Valley Forge, Pa., an ultra-rightist organization, and Chief Inspector William C. Sullivan of the F.B.I. who also graces the platforms of the Institute for American Strategy.

For audio-visual entertainment the sailors were shown "Communism on the Map".

2. California's Point Mugu Naval Base and Oxnard Air Force Base are physically adjacent to each other. They also appear to be led by officers who share right wing political views. On June 4, 1961 the San Francisco Chronicle reported that Lieutenant Stephen Huffaker, Oxnard's Information Officer had "given 65 talks on the Communist threat, to civic, veteran and church groups" in a five month period. "In one oration almost two hours long," the Chronicle reported, "he attacked American schools, churches, and newspapers for being soft on Communism." He also denounced "Governor Brown for criticizing the ultra-conservative John Birch Society." The Chronicle reported that the Lieutenant "implied at one point that his views were shared by his own superior Col. Lee Lambert, the Oxnard Base Commander and by Rear Admiral Jack P. Monroe at nearby Point Mugu."

When interviewed by the Chronicle, Admiral Monroe "said he admired Dr. Fred C. Schwarz, who heads the Christian Anti-Communism School at Long Beach." He also termed "unfortunate" the Defense Department's withdrawal of "Communism on the Map" for use by the military.

3. The National War College, in addition to operating Strategy Seminars with the Institute for American Strategy, regularly uses extreme right wing lecturers. These include Dr. Fred Schwarz, Frank R. Barnett, James Burnham, of the rightist magazine National Review, and Dr. Richard Walker, who was reported by the Atlanta Journal of March 11, 1961 to have publicly charged Under Secretary of State Chester Bowles with "doing a grave disservice to his country" by advocating modification of U.S. policy on China. Dr. Schwarz also has lectured to the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Central Intelligence Agency according to publicity material of his Christian Anti-Communism Crusade.

Another of the Crusade's stalwarts, Constantine Baldyreff, is described in their printed literature as a "lecturer in the Psychological Warfare Program of the U.S. Air Force." Baldyreff, a top figure of a Russian fascist and anti-semitic exile organization known as the Solidarists (NTS), gained notoriety in the forties by his claim that he could overthrow the Soviet regime if President Truman gave him \$100,000,000. Significantly, rumor has it among democratic, anti-Communist Russian exiles, that the Solidarists are now actually subsidized

by the U.S. Air Force. Inquiry of Secretary of the Air Force, Eugene Zuckert, as to whether Baldyreff actually lectures for them brought an evasive reply, neither affirming nor denying the charge.

4. General Edwin Walker was transferred and rebuked for his rightist activities. Yet at least one top military officer has been equally, if not more, militant in indoctrinating his men with extremist views. Vice Admiral Goldthwaite, former Chief of Naval Air Training and Commandant of the Naval Air Station at Pensacola, Fla. has conducted a virtual one man crusade for right wing extremism from coast to coast. He works closely with the National Education Program and Harding College of Searcy, Arkansas. The following are some of Admiral Goldthwaite's activities:

Item—Together with a group of subordinates, the Admiral made a flying visit to the headquarters of the N.E.P. in Searcy. On his return he wrote a letter on his official stationery dated March 4, 1960, thanking Birchite Glen Green of the N.E.P. "for the wonderful reception and inspiring presentation that you gave me and my group at Searcy." "You and your organization," he continued, "are to be commended for the exceptionally effective work that you are doing in sponsoring education in, and appreciation for, the American way of life. We will continue to do all that we can to carry this message to the personnel of the Naval Air Training Command, and to the civilian communities with which we have contact."

Item—In pursuit of this objective, Goldthwaite was the organizer of Project Alert in Pensacola, which was designed "to alert military and civilian personnel to the problems of Communist infiltration." Project Alert used N.E.P. officers Clifton Ganus and Glen Green in its programs. The entire Community was flooded with N.E.P. propaganda, including the film "Communism on the Map" and various printed materials.

Item—Under Admiral Goldthwaite's leadership, the Pensacola base organized an interstate conference which carried Project Alert into Georgia and South Carolina.

Item—When Capt. Kenneth J. Sanger, Commander of Sands Point Naval Air Station in Seattle was under attack for his rightist activities, he produced written evidence of support by Admiral Goldthwaite.

Item—The Admiral was a featured speaker on Nov. 11, 1960 at the Corpus Christi, Texas Naval Air Station's "Workshop for American Strategy", which was reported in Senator Fulbright's Memo. The program was attended by 450 civilians and 600 military personnel. Admiral Goldthwaite spoke on "the Dual Challenge."

Item—When the Glenview Naval Air Base in Glenview, Illinois sponsored its "Anti-Communist" seminar on August 28-Sept. 2, 1960, the program did not include Admiral Goldthwaite. The Fulbright Memo, which gives a summary of the Glenview program, therefore did not mention Goldthwaite in this connection. However a photograph of the Admiral taken at the conference, appeared in the Oct., 1960 issue

of the Newsletter of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade. Standing beside him in the photograph were Fred Schwarz, Rear Admiral W. McKechnie, Chief of Naval Air Reserve Training, Major William Mayer, U.S.A.F. and Commander Isaiah Hampton of the Glenview Station.

Item—The newspaper "Free Enterprise" is published by Rev. Billy James Hargis' extreme rightist organization, We the People! In the May, 1961 issue of "Free Enterprise" there appeared a letter from a sailor at the Pensacola Naval Air Station, of which Admiral Goldthwaite was Commandant, stating that the leadership school of his station lists We the People! "as a source of material in the fight against communism".

Camouflage Strategy

PERHAPS the single most important center that brings together the moguls of the military-industrial complex and the high priests of the Ultra right is the Institute for American Strategy. One would not expect to find an actual institution that formally served this purpose, and the greater part of their contact undoubtedly remains informal and behind closed doors, yet the IAS does exist and does carry on some of its functions in public. The Fulbright memorandum reports on some of them, particularly the Institute's taking over of some of the political training functions of the National War College. But Senator Fulbright did not report other important activities of the IAS, nor does he do justice to the true rightist aroma that pervades the organization.

The Institute for American Strategy was formed in 1958 by "educators, industrialists, scientists, and senior officers from all branches of the armed forces". The key man in the organization was and still is Frank Rockwell Barnett, a graduate of the University of Illinois, a former Rhodes scholar, and a very sophisticated and energetic individual with a penchant for devising new schemes for intensifying the cold war. Recently, for example, he came up with a proposal, which has been put forward in the Senate but not yet acted upon, for the organization of a cold war strategy center with the dual purpose of devising paramilitary techniques and intensifying cold war fervor at home. Barnett thinks politically. His politics are reactionary.

It was Barnett who hatched the idea of the Institute for American Strategy and it was through him that the funds became available. He was then, as he is now, Research Director of the Richardson

Foundation, the organization that put up the money for the formation of the IAS and its principal source of funds to this day.*

The Institute carries on a variety of activities although it has but one aim: the intensification of the arms race with the objective of total American victory, by force of nuclear weapons if necessary. It sees all negotiation toward disarmament, disengagement or nuclear test bans as "defeatism". Instead it proposes a more energetic pursuit of the cold war, with special emphasis on "fourth dimensional warfare," which in essence means aggressive action on the "enemy's" territory by paramilitary methods. Barnett defines fourth dimensional warfare as a "tough minded" approach embracing "diverse forms of coercion and violence, including strikes and riots, economic sanctions, subsidies for guerilla or proxy warfare, and when necessary kidnapping or assassination of enemy elites."

To further these objectives the IAS brings together top industrial executives, admirals, generals, and other influential members of the power elite whom it mobilizes to act as its motor force for putting its program into effect. And it works. The very year after the Institute was founded it was invited in by the Joint Chiefs of Staff to take over some of the key functions of the National War College. The alarming thing about this, of course, is that it reveals a vacuum, a bankruptcy of ideas in top US military circles and, what's worse, a willingness on the part of the Joint Chiefs to completely defy Administration policy. For at the very moment that the IAS was teaching the officers at the National War College that negotiation with the Russians was "defeatism", the Government of the United States was engaged in negotiation toward an inspected ban on bomb tests.

At the same time the IAS was doing its utmost to light a fire under the administration by mobilizing public sentiment against U.S. foreign policy. At a Regional Strategy Seminar of the IAS in Chicago on September 23 and 24, 1960, before an audience of 1200 persons, Rear Admiral Chester Ward, USN (ret.), thundered, "So what is their (the Communists') strategy of conquest? They sell us on idealistic over-optimistic escape solutions, each one of which cumulatively weakens our strength, our resolve, our will to resist. Disarmament.

*The Richardson Foundation, which is headquartered in North Carolina, had assets of over \$12,000,000 in 1958. It derives its money from the Vick Chemical Company. The Foundation is prominently featured in Senator Fulbright's Memo on rightist activities in the armed forces. It is also the major contributor to the Foreign Policy Research Institute of the University of Pennsylvania, a "let's get tough" school headed by Robert Strauss-Hupe, Stefan T. Possony and Major William R. Kintner. In 1953, 1959 and 1960, the Foundation contributed \$153,889 to the Foreign Policy Research Institute, \$108,000 to the Institute of American Strategy, and an additional \$50,000 to both, to finance the 1959 National War College Seminar operated by the I.A.S., the F.P.R.I. and the armed forces.

Other organizations financed by the Richardson Foundation include the right wing American Enterprise Association, the Navy League and the Robert E. Lee Memorial Foundation. In 1959, \$25,000 was contributed to a South African leadership exchange program in Johannesburg to bring over white apologists for the racist apartheid system.

Nuclear test ban negotiations. The United Nations. World peace through world law. Each one at best a diversion; at worst a fatal trap."

Referring to the Geneva negotiations for an inspected ban on nuclear tests, which were then going on, Admiral Ward continued, "The patently phony character of the reasons our 'trust-the-Communists, agreement-at-any-price, understand-the-Russian-fears' boys have pushed off on our public and the White House makes it incredible that bad judgment alone is responsible for this suicidal negotiation by the United States."

Winding up the Admiral demanded a national objective of "victory over Communism". Then he said, "Instead, you know what our national objective is . . . ? You wouldn't believe it. It's world peace through enforceable law. In other words, some of our leaders seem to have a surrender complex."

Among the co-sponsors of the rally at which Admiral Ward spoke these words were the 5th U.S. Army, the 9th U.S. Naval District, the Naval Air Reserve Training Command, the 10th U.S. Air Force, the 9th Marine Corps and Recruitment District and a host of civilian organizations including the Illinois Manufacturers Association, the Illinois Chamber of Commerce, the American Legion, the VFW, the American Security Council and the Chicago Press Club. The title of the meeting was "Peace is War".

Again, on April 15, 1961, the IAS was behind a regional conference in Pittsburgh. Admiral Ward was billed as the feature speaker and according to the newspaper, Pittsburgh Press, he attacked President Kennedy and Ambassador Adlai Stevenson for pursuing "appeasement" and "surrender" policies. The official program of the conference advised participants to "Be on the alert for Communist sympathizers in your community," and "Identify public officials and policies displaying softness toward Communism."

"Assistance and support" was given to the above conference, according to the official program, by Lt. General Ridgely Gaither, Commanding General, 2nd U.S. Army, and his staff, and Maj. General Ralph C. Cooper, Commanding General, XXI U.S. Army Corps, and his staff.

With this line, it is not surprising that Frank Barnett is a regular speaker for Fred Schwarz' Christian Anti-Communism Crusade. Nor that he is an opponent of social welfare programs at home. "If the American people do not do their homework on Mao, Lenin, and Clausewitz," warns the IAS Director in an article in the March, 1961 issue of "Military Review", "they are likely to put pressure on Washington for more social welfare."

What is surprising is that he allows a rank amateur like Col. Gunther Hartell to run his affiliated group in New York State. Hartell is the Director of American Strategy, Inc. whose letterhead states, "Associated with the Institute for American Strategy." But the job

that he does in New York doesn't compare with Barnett's in sophistication. As a matter of fact, it might even be called "crackpot", although that has not prevented Hartell from enjoying some successes. His "line" is this: Communism's major weapon for undermining the United States is debauchery. By corrupting our morals, says Hartell, they sap our vitality. And by sapping our vitality they soften us up for conquest.

This vital message the Colonel hammers at by spoken and written word throughout the Empire State. Speaking at a Freedom Forum of the National Education Program in Briarcliff Manor, N. Y. on May 12, 1961, the Ossining Citizen Register reported that he decried "the Soviet technique of 'emotionalizing' American social ills until they become major national problems, such as integration" and "the use of sex themes and pornography in books, films, the theater and television, by Communist writers and producers to debauch basic American decency."

An example of this debauchery is the play "Three Penny Opera", says the American Strategy pamphlet "He Tinkered with Men's Minds". The play brings "Marxian dialectics" to the stage, and is "morally, sexually, ethically, and physiologically depraved." It is disturbing says the pamphlet, that "Americans do not fully comprehend how the enemy is working to deceive us and undermine us socially and morally."

For further reading, Hartell issues a reading list entitled "Combating Communism". Featured in it are the rightist magazines Human Events, Counterattack and National Review. He also recommends the Bookmailer in New York as a good source of reading materials. The Bookmailer is the leading distributor in the East of the Blue Book of the John Birch Society.

In spite of this program, or maybe because of it, Hartell has scored. On May 21, 1961 the New York Times reported that the New York State Division of Military and Naval Affairs invited American Strategy, Inc. to conduct seminars to "alert New Yorkers to the dangers of Communism." The story, under an Albany byline, stated further that "at the request of Major General Almerin C. O'Hara, Chief of Staff to Gov. Rockefeller, a representative of American Strategy addressed a briefing session conducted by the Military and Naval Affairs Division here." The representative was Col. Hartell. As a result of that meeting American Strategy has been conducting seminars for New York units of the National Guard and they receive official credits for participating in these meetings.

To sum up, the Institute for American Strategy is a powerful institution within the military-industrial complex. It mobilizes support from the highest echelons of the military, including the Joint Chiefs of Staff who have shown a willingness to assign vital tasks to it. The Institute enjoys impressive ties to big business, which is represented on its Board of Directors and participates actively in its

conferences.* Its major aim is to fan the flames of the cold war and to oppose policies that might lead toward a detente.

It avoids, it is true, the kind of Birchite nonsense that claims that the income tax and fluoridation lead to Communism. Yet by its emphasis on total national mobilization for Total Victory, it lends its very considerable weight to the trend toward a garrison state and World War III.

Penetrating the Community

"... perhaps the greatest danger of all for Americans would be a rising national mood of self-induced frustration, an attitude from which there are only two exits: belligerence or defeatism."

Harlan Cleveland, Ass't Sect'y of State
for International Organization Affairs,
speech quoted in New York Times
November 5, 1961

THE long range staying power of the Ultras depends upon their infiltration of the military and of the corporations. But their political importance is a function of their ability to bring thousands and tens of thousands of people into an extraordinary reactionary movement which masks itself under the simple and appealing slogan of "Anti-Communism".

In this section of this report, the emphasis is upon the "mass work" of the Ultras: their community impact, their attacks upon the schools and churches, their letter writing network, their curious blend of Madison Avenue hucksterism and fundamentalist demagogy.

There are no accurate figures on the number of Americans caught

*Military and business leaders who are either on the Board of IAS or active in its conferences are: Rear Admiral Rawson Bennett, USN, Chief of Naval Research, Lt. General Leslie R. Groves (ret.), now Vice President of Remington Rand, Lt. General E. C. Itzhner, Chief of Engineers, Dept. of the Army, Rear Admiral H. Arnold Kero, Lt. General George W. Mundy, USAF, Commandant of the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, and General E. W. Rawlings, USAF (ret.) now Executive Vice President of General Mills, Inc. Also Edwin A. Locke, Jr., president of Union Tank Car Co. and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Institute for American Strategy, Fred M. Gilles, Chairman of Acme Steel Co., Merrill C. Meigs, Vice President of the Hearst Corp., Gordon W. Reed, Chairman of the Board of the Texas Gulf Producing Co., Robert E. Wood, former Chairman of the Board of Sears, Roebuck and Co., Lemuel R. Boulware, former Vice President of General Electric Co. and originator of the Boulware formula for breaking unions, Robert S. Ingersoll, President of Borg-Warner Corp., Edward C. Logelin, Vice President of the U.S. Steel Corp., and James E. Rutherford, Vice President of the Prudential Insurance Company of America.

up in the web of the radical right. Yet it is safe to say that dues paying members of one or the other organizations number in the hundreds of thousands and that camp followers number in the millions. The American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, a sort of right wing clearing house, claims a membership of 3 million, according to Ellsworth and Harris in their Fund for the Republic Report "The American Right Wing". But we may take it that this figure is inflated for political and public relations purposes. The Birch Society's membership goal is 1 million; informed estimates are that they now have 60,000. But membership in the Birch Society represents a high degree of commitment: Dues are \$12 a year for women and \$24 for men. Fred Schwarz' Christian Anti-Communism Crusade claims to have a thousands organized chapters throughout the country, although they are not all known by that name. The Crusade's official manual of organization advises them to "Select a name such as 'Northside Study Group', 'The Christian Cell', 'Patrick Henry Brigade', etc." because "a stigma is being attached to the term 'Anti-Communism' today." Schwarz' announced goal is 10,000 such study groups, which would constitute what he calls his "unorganized army for the Republic of the United States." Billy James Hargis does not give membership figures, but he boasts that the Christian Crusade's monthly magazine has 100,000 paid subscribers. And besides the main organizations there are hundreds upon hundreds of smaller ones, each with its special "message" revolving around a leader possessed of some degree of charisma.

To judge by attendance at the rallies and "schools" of the various organizations, their following is large and it is growing. Schwarz has packed in 17,500 in Los Angeles, 10,000 in Shreveport and Phoenix, and he has hired Madison Square Garden for his New York rally in the Spring of 1962. He has consistently drawn attendance in the thousands at the various cities he's hit: Indianapolis, San Diego, St. Louis, Miami, San Francisco, Dallas, Milwaukee, Philadelphia, Columbus and New Orleans, plus the ones mentioned above.

Welch doesn't do as well as Schwarz largely because he doesn't put on the same kind of show, but also because the public rally doesn't play that big a role in his conception of the purposes of the Birch Society. Yet, he too gets thousands to his meetings in some parts of the country and he has steadily been invading new territory. He jams them in in Texas and California, pulled out 3,000 in Milwaukee, and at his first stab at Long Island he drew an enthusiastic audience of 1,400, the largest non-recreational gathering held in that neck of the woods in years.

At all of these gatherings, the message of the right is hammered home again and again: Communism in the guise of liberalism menaces the American Way of Life, we are the victims of a plot to disarm America under the guise of the "welfare state" and "one worldism", we must flush out and expose the traitors in our midst, among our

neighbors, in our communities, churches, schools, and above all in the Federal Government in Washington.

By way of illustration of just what happens when extremism sets in, here is a letter which tells of the impact of the ultras in a small town in Connecticut:

Trumbull, Connecticut
24 July 1961

SP-SDF

1182 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Dear Irwin Suall:

Operation Abolition was shown at the regular unit meeting of the Parent Teachers Association in Brookfield, Conn. on June 6. I had been elected to the executive committee of the PTA that May; plans for the June meeting had already been set when I protested that the controversy over the film warranted exposition of the opposing point of view. We decided that no change in the structure of the meeting could be made, and I wrote a letter to the Danbury News-Times stating that there was controversy over the film and citing a few of the organizations which had warned against it.

Doctor Carlton Campbell, a surgeon from Wilton, Conn. and a former Greenwich school teacher, Miss Salvucci, presented the film. Dr. Campbell is associated with the Freedom Foundation, and spoke at a Freedom Forum in Bridgeport, Conn. at which hysteria was the rule. Dean Rusk was called a "card carrying Communist for years." Dr. Campbell is also associated with the Connecticut Citizens' Anti-Communist Committee headed by Edward J. McCullum of Bridgeport. This group is engaged in witch hunting as well as abstract fascism. The Doctor is also associated with the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade. There is a chapter of the Birch Society in Wilton, but I have not been able to find evidence that Dr. Campbell is a member. The Brookfield PTA meeting was chaired by Art Eberle, the president who is also the local Civil Defense Director. CD men, in uniform, were stationed around the meeting hall. They did not move, but stayed exactly where they were put, surrounding the parents and teachers. One, contrary to law, was carrying side arms, in a holster on his hip. When afterwards Mr. Eberle was asked why CD men in uniform were stationed around the hall, he laughed and cited fire danger. The effect of Mr. Eberle's little army was very intimidating. During the meeting, the microphone was controlled at all times by Dr. Campbell or Miss Salvucci. Questions from the floor which were in any way critical were answered by shouts from the audience and antagonisms from the microphone. The audience of regular PTA members were augmented by members of Ed McCullum's Connecticut Citizens' Anti-Communist Committee who had come from neighboring towns. A professor at Danbury State College who is a respected member of the community and in the local, small Democratic Party, a regular member of PTA, took issue with Dr. Campbell's address on the subject of the internal threat and the danger of "government for the people". He was shouted at by members of the audience who were not PTA members or local residents. A few brave women and a friend of mine, an instructor at Yale whom I had brought, asked questions of a critical nature. CD men followed my friend from Yale around the hall, pointed him out to our antagonists from the neighboring towns, and followed him out of the hall after the meeting. The Sergeant of the CD band took down the license plate numbers of the

cars belonging to people whom he had recognized as having asked critical questions. My friend was so intimidated by the atmosphere that he asked me to drive ahead of him for a few miles until he could get away from danger.

Literature handed out at the door, gratis, included:

Myths and Facts about Free Enterprise: distributed as a public service by Coast Federal Savings, Los Angeles, Calif.

Human Events: reprint "The Truth about Operation Abolition", by Congressman John H. Roussetot

The Southern Presbyterian Journal: reprint "America, Wake Up!" and "A Venture in Long Range Reporting", by Bell, 17 June '59

Will You Be Free to Celebrate Christmas in the Future? a complete reprint of testimony of Dr. Schwarz to HUAC contained in US Gov. Prin. Ofc. document No. 92964

This War We Could Lose: American Economics Foundation reprint from *The Economic Facts of Life*, vol. 18, no. 5, May '60

Communist Target: Youth, HUAC, by J. Edgar Hoover

At the literature table members of the audience were requested to sign cards stating names, addresses and telephone numbers if they wished to receive any more literature, or notices of meetings. These cards were handed over by Dr. Campbell to a local resident who then called each of the persons by phone and asked them if they would attend an organizational meeting for a local study-action group to fight communism. The meeting was held and we now have a local anti-Communist committee in town.

Because of the letter I had written to the Danbury paper, and because I had coordinated the Peace Walk from Kittery to the UN sponsored by the Committee for Non-Violent Action (CNVA) as it passed through the Danbury area, and because I had mailed a copy of Al Hessler's *Neither Run Nor Hide* to a young man in the area who had requested it, Mr. Eberle and the local Civil Defense decided I must be a red and must therefore be fired from my job as instructor in Latin and English at the local junior high school. Mr. Eberle, according to an informant within CD, spent one entire CD meeting discussing the problem of how to get me out of the school system. He had already gone to the chairman of the Board of Education who had put him off by saying that the Connecticut Education Association is too strong for anyone to try to tackle, and that I could have CEA support. Mr. Eberle told the CD volunteers that they all had to stick together in this. He asked help in getting rid of me and one of the men who claimed to have experience in this area volunteered. He said, according to my informant, that if they couldn't get me out for subversion they would get me out on morals: "fag me."

The personal campaign against me has failed and I am sure will never come to anything because of certain other factors. The point of this rambling account is to show how naturally small town Civil Defense units and the new grass roots fascist movements in the US mesh. The very nature of the CD appeal to frustrated policemen ensures great overlap with proto-fascist organization.

Sincerely,
Thomas C. Cornell

To get the flavor of a large metropolitan area that's been caught up in the throes of this excitement, one must go to one of the half dozen cities that are in the forefront of the anti-conspiracy movement:

Houston, Dallas, Columbus, Phoenix, Wichita, Los Angeles. For sheer volume and variety Los Angeles is far out in front.

In Southern California there are the mainstream organizations of the Ultras and there are the smaller, even more extremist sects, ranging all the way from anti-fluoridation crusaders to those who see mental health as subversive. When Welch and Schwarz visit the area they have no trouble packing them in by the thousands. Two of the local daily newspapers consistently support the Ultras, as do several radio and TV stations. A number of fundamentalist churches, ranging from the store front to the neon-lit, red brick variety, plug the Ultra line and corral the masses to the rallies. The Catholic hierarchy in the area are no slouchers either: A recent tabloid supplement to *The Tidings*, official weekly publication of the Los Angeles Archdiocese of the Roman Catholic Church, is far out in right field. It recommends, among other things, that Catholics read and subscribe to Robert Welch's *American Opinion*, *The Dan Smoot Report*, *The Wanderer*, *The Truth*, *National Review* and the *Network of Patriotic Letter Writers*. It also recommends the film "Operation Abolition" to its readers.

National groups like the Birch Society are by no means the only broad-based ones in the Los Angeles area. Some of the strictly local ones also operate smoothly geared machines and attract thousands of followers. For example, take the Free Enterprise Bureau of the Coast Federal Savings Association. Founded in 1935 by an enterprising young Iowan, Joel Crail, Coast Federal Savings now claims to be the third largest savings and loan association in the world, with assets of upwards of \$450 million. The Free Enterprise Bureau is its political action arm. When Congressman Rousselot stood up in the House to make an impassioned defense of the John Birch Society, it was Coast Federal that reproduced and mailed out his speech in the hundreds of thousands. The Bureau runs a three pronged operation. Each Saturday and throughout the summer it conducts "Americanism" seminars for high school students. Each month it mails out 50,000 pieces of right wing literature, and once a quarter it does mailings of 200,000. It also operates an "Americanism" speakers bureau with a stable of 28 conspiracy slayers who will speak upon request to any local group, free of charge. In the month of March, 1961 alone, the speakers bureau claims to have "serviced" 236 groups and addressed or shown films like "Communism on the Map" to a total of 34,737 persons.

A similarly impressive operation is conducted by the California Free Enterprise Association, which also regards liberalism as satanic. The Association is financed and operated by a substantial grower corporation, Knott's Berry Farm.

Los Angeles also has its own version of Harding College, called Pepperdine College. In addition to the job done on its own 1400 students with the usual ultra version of "patriotism", Pepperdine runs a speakers bureau, sponsors Freedom Forums in cooperation with

Harding College, offers refresher courses to high school teachers, and produces its own films, such as its latest effort, "Communist Accent on Youth". Like Harding, Pepperdine describes itself as a "Christian College."

The sects of the radical right in Los Angeles are almost too numerous to catalog. They cover a fantastic range of views and except for the dozen or so big ones, the rest are smallish, running from a few dozen to several hundred zealots. Yet, the sheer quantity of them adds up. In addition to the usual rightist political line, the sects generally have a special ideological twist of their own. Some are hipped on the theory that fluoridation is a Russian plot to undermine America by poisoning us all. Others insist that Khrushchev's favorite secret weapon is metropolitan regional planning, or "Metro Government", as they call it. Yet another faction declares Mental Health to be enemy number one; as for example the Patrick Henry League. According to a pamphlet produced by the Patrick Henry-ites, "The great subversion of American morals is being intensified. Children are the victims, we are the financiers, and Mental Health is the front organization . . . We do not say the present Mental Health program has a few defects. We do say the whole program is riddled with dangerous faults serving the purposes of world Communism."

Other ultra-reactionary organizations in the area are the National Committee for Education Freedom, the Committee for the Preservation of the Constitution, Citizens United for America, the Los Angeles Chapter of Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, American Birth-right Committee, Americans for Constitutional Action, American Public Relations Forum, the Network of Patriotic Letter Writers, etc. Each of these organizations publishes its own organ, running the gamut from earnest, smudgy mimeographed sheets to slick, expensive brochures and magazines.

Actually, this fantastic network of organizations, large and small, adds up to a substantial movement. They have their own Congressmen like Rousselot, Hiestand and Utt. They control a number of state legislators. They wield considerable power in both major parties, but especially in the California Republican Party. In the 1962 Republican gubernatorial primary they have their own candidate, wealthy oilman Joe Shell, a right wing Assemblyman from Los Angeles. Even Richard Nixon feels that he dare not ignore or slight them. When Fred Schwarz put on one of his anti-Communist extravaganzas at the Hollywood Bowl in October, 1961, the former Vice President of the United States felt obliged to wire his greetings.

Ultracizing the Schools

AMONG the major targets of the Ultras are the schools. Their reasoning is simple: The schools are infested with subversion and we must save the children for God and country. Consequently they zealously devote themselves to campaigning for election to boards of education; "capturing PTA's," to use Robert Welch's own words; high pressuring principals and teachers; offering books, pamphlets, and films to school libraries; demanding changes in school curricula; and censoring textbooks. In a growing number of states and communities, their zeal is paying off. Texas, for example, has recently experienced a right wing blitzkrieg on its textbooks.

J. Evetts Haley is a Texas cattleman who heads Texans for America, a band of ardent super-patriots who, according to the weekly newspaper, *The Texas Observer*, "acknowledge close ties with the John Birch Society." The Haley-ites spearheaded the drive to "clean out subversion" from the textbooks used by the schoolchildren of Texas. The extent of their success may be judged by the fact that on October 6, 1961 the *Texas Observer* reported that "Every history book adopted last week by the state textbook committee, for use beginning in 1962, will be in part edited and re-written to satisfy the Haleyites and their allies in the DAR and the John Birch Society."

Texas had already had a rule that the authors of all textbooks used in its schools had to sign a loyalty oath. And the textbook publishers themselves, knowing the growing conservative sentiment, had been applying a form of self-censorship. But these safeguards were inadequate to appease the book burning appetites of Texans for America. They dispatched a delegation to the textbook division of the Texas Education Agency, well armed with lists of reading materials that the "Americanists" regard as verboten. The textbook division was cordially receptive to their "suggestions". According to the *Observer*, the "suggestions" were based on "the criterion of patriotism—Is the book un-American, either by Haley's standards or by the standards of the House un-American Activities Committee? Is the book 'soft on communism,' as Haley judges softness? Does the book suggest the students do outside reading among authors who have been blackballed as subversive by one investigative organization or another—such authors as Pearl S. Buck, Jack London, Upton Sinclair, Ernest Hemingway, Stephen Vincent Benet, or Dorothy Canfield Fisher? Is the author himself suspected by the HUAC?"

The results were eminently satisfactory to the Haleyites. Some books were thrown out altogether as being deficient in patriotic fervor. Others were blue pencilled: The book companies were called in and given 24 hours to consent to a list of changes in the actual texts of the books. Since huge sums of money revolved about the sale of each

book, the companies didn't need even 24 hours to make up their minds. Every one of them agreed to make the changes.

But the radical right doesn't limit itself to bringing negative pressures to bear on the subject of reading materials in the schools. They also obligingly offer their own "100 per cent Americanist" materials which, so to speak, fill the vacuum created by their purges. Thus, for example, a group of local businessmen in Wichita Falls, Texas worked out arrangements with School Superintendent Joe B. McNiel to supply all the schools in town with literature: the entire arsenal of materials of the National Education Program of Searcy, Ark., including books, pamphlets, course outlines, and films.

Similar pressures from the Ultras have been brought to bear on the California school system. Kimmis Hendrick of the Christian Science Monitor reports that the pressures on the teachers and principals were so intense in October, 1961 "that many school people despaired of finding any time to carry on the real business of the schools. They were busy answering critics night and day." He goes on to say, "They were besieged by anonymous phone calls. Sometimes the voice at the other end of the line said, 'We haven't had a good lynching here in a long time; maybe we need one now.'" But, reports the Monitor correspondent, the Free Enterprise Bureau of Coast Federal Savings favors the more genteel method of bringing patriotism to the schools. "If a parent feels that Johnny is being indoctrinated subversively by some textbook, film, or teacher," he should make an appointment with the principal and teacher and patiently explain to them what changes he would like to see made. Often this method works. For example, George Ross of Coast Federal "says that recently he called the attention of local school administrators to a new film produced by Pepperdine College, called 'Communist Accent on Youth'. He did not argue for the film, Mr. Ross points out; he simply urged that it be looked at. School people saw it and acquired eight copies for classroom use."

However, in other parts of the country they eschew this gradual, bit by bit method of bringing the school into line. In Louisiana they prefer the wholesale approach: when Dr. George Benson "sold" some influential persons on his National Educational Program film "Communism on the Map" they arranged to have the State Legislature pass a law. From then on viewing of "Communism on the Map" became compulsory for all high school and junior high school students in the state.

In Florida too they avoid the creeping, school by school, or District by District approach; they like the law making method. As a result all students educated in the Florida High Schools are now required to study "The Naked Communist" by Cleon Skousen, former Police Chief of Salt Lake City and close associate of and lecturer for Fred Schwarz. The publisher calls it "The most powerful book on Communism in print!" and the Florida legislature, apparently, is satisfied that it has saved the young people of that state from Communism.

Most of the extreme right wing organizations devote a considerable amount of time and energy to work in the schools. The Birch Society constantly reminds its members of the importance of working in the PTA's and Robert Welch's essay contest on "Why Earl Warren Should be Impeached" was specifically directed to high school students.

In the May, 1961 issue of his Crusade Newsletter, Fred Schwarz announced that copies of his book "You Can Trust the Communists" were being sent to every high school and junior high school in the country, at a cost of \$37,000. The money had already been raised. Schwarz also carefully cultivates the schools for his "anti-Communism rallies". His Dallas meeting in December, 1960 was sponsored by the Dallas Independent School District, which dutifully herded the children out to hear him. When he came to Phoenix the Acting Superintendent of the Phoenix College and High School District arranged facilities for a giant rally and urged faculty members, students and their parents to attend. In Shreveport, La. most of the participants in his "Tri-State School of Anti-Communism", which drew 10,000 persons, were high school students.

The National Education Program has for years concentrated on the schools. They offer elaborate student outlines, complete with bibliographies, free of charge to any schools that will use them; and many do, especially in poor Southern school districts. Their films are especially aimed at school children, and they've got dozens to choose from, all professionally produced. These include "The American Adventure" series (13 films), "Adventures in Economics" (10 films), "A Citizen's Political Responsibility", "Communism on the Map", and "Ten Nations and the USA." The last named movie perpetrates the lie that social democratic Governments in Western Europe are indistinguishable from Communism; Sweden, Norway and Denmark are shown with their national flags criss-crossed with deep red banners containing the hammer and sickle.

An impressive operation in the schools is carried on by one of the slickest organizations of the Ultras in the country: Freedom's Foundation of Valley Forge, Pa. As carefully camouflaged and disguised as any Communist front of the past, Freedom's Foundation boasts as its honorary officers Dwight D. Eisenhower and Herbert Hoover.

The Foundation has two main functions: it works in the schools through essay contests, the mass distribution of literature, dispatching guest speakers, etc. and it gives out awards to deserving "patriotic" individuals and organizations. Leading the field in having received the most number of awards from the Foundation is the National Education Program of Searcy, Ark. Others who have received prizes from the Foundation, (they run as high as \$1000 per person) are: Dr. George Benson, and each individual officer of the National Education Program, Thomas J. Anderson, Southern leader of the John Birch Society, Frank Barnett of the Institute for American Strategy, Sen-

ator Barry Goldwater, the Free Enterprise Bureau of Coast Federal Savings of Los Angeles, Dr. Nicholas Nyaradi, whose lectures are distributed by the John Birch Society, and others of similar stripe.

The President of the Foundation is Kenneth Wells, a frequent speaker at N.E.P. Freedom Forums throughout the country, where he shares the platform with men like Fred Schwarz, George Benson, Herbert Philbrick and Glenn A. Green. According to the Texas Observer of December 25, 1959, Wells made the following remarks to a group of 300 school teachers in Lampasa, Texas in November 1958: "I have a daughter in Temple University and she comes home in tears almost every night from the socialistic things she hears there. I believe, and this is not a special case I'm taking either, that the reason for it lies in the fact that of the 35 students in one of her classes, 17 are Jews and 12 are Negroes. That is where these ideologies that are not in keeping with our American heritage are coming from."

Yet, in spite of its extreme rightist core, the Foundation maintains an impeccably respectable front. Sprinkled among the ultras who receive the bulk of its awards are institutions like Life magazine and NBC, whom it dutifully honors. Its officers include a glittering cross section of high military men and industrialist, including Admiral Arthur W. Radford, General Nathan Twining, Admiral Lewis Strauss, Major General J. B. Medaris, all retired, Charles M. White of Republic Steel, and the late Charles E. Wilson of General Motors. FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover has endorsed the Foundation in glowing terms. Undoubtedly some of these men may not know that they are associated with the radical right in Freedom's Foundation, but what excuse has J. Edgar Hoover?

The image brought to the Foundation by former President Eisenhower and others enables it to function in the schools so effectively. Literally millions of school children compete in its essay contests on "patriotism" and "free enterprise", in cities throughout the nation, cross section of high military men and industrialists, including Ad- including New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago. Like many other decent, respectable citizens who receive Foundation awards, the schools are certainly not to be blamed for the Foundation's camouflaged aims. Were they aware of them, most would probably refuse the awards.

The impact of the Ultras on the school children of America is hard to measure. But that it is bound to have a serious effect on their thinking seems beyond dispute. And it appears that the rightist influences are spreading. Even so staid a public school system as Boston's now has a Unit on Communism which teaches that "Intrinsically Socialism is an evil and as inimicable to liberty and democracy as is Communism." Yet there is no evidence that this fantastic bracketing of Sweden with Russia, Gaitskell with Khrushchev, has even been questioned. It is no wonder that the same Unit on Communism recommends John O. Beatty's book "Iron Curtain Over America," a prime example of anti-semitic hate literature.

Tarring the Churches

NO institution in American life is immune from the mud-slinging of the Ultras. Among their major targets have been the churches. The religious institutions of the country, they maintain, are rife with sedition and lack of patriotism. In a column in *Farm and Ranch*, his own magazine, Birchite Tom Anderson of Nashville, Tennessee, quotes J. B. Matthews as saying that "The largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States today is composed of Protestant clergymen." Anderson continues, "The House Un-American Activities Committee showed as of 1953 that 8,673 American clergymen were in the Communist conspiracy, knowingly or unknowingly. At that time there were 358 Rabbis, 626 Presbyterians, 1,429 Protestant Episcopal and 2,131 Methodists, among others."

This vicious numbers game, so reminiscent of Joe McCarthy, is practically an industry by itself among certain professional specialists on "subversion in the churches." Whole volumes have been devoted to this incredible vocation: "Communism in the Churches," by J. B. Matthews, "Collectivism in the Churches," by Edgar C. Bundy, "Communist Deception in the Churches," by Myers G. Lowman, and others.

What are the facts? *Christian Century*, the respected Protestant inter-denominational publication, reviewing Ralph Lord Roy's "Communism and the Churches" states, "among the 500,000 Americans serving as clergymen during this 40 year period, not more than 200 and perhaps as few as 50 became Communist functionaries. Few of these were pastors of churches, none were in responsible positions. What involvement of ministers there was occurred largely in the course of a depression so cruel that many members of the Christian church saw no problem maintaining a divided allegiance—a recourse which seems so dubious today. Roy declares that it is absurd to think that this small number had any significant effect on the policies of churches or interchurch organizations."

Yet, the hysterical charges of "Communism in the churches" continue unabated, and whole organizations and publications devote themselves fulltime to this fantastic theme. Their aim, of course, is to discredit the churches, along with all other respected institutions in American life, with a view to dividing and destroying them. All in the name of "Christianity."

The Ultras can be found in all churches, Protestant and Catholic alike. Clear opposition to their doctrine of hate by the official institutions of their churches bothers them not at all. On the contrary it is "proof" to them of their contention that the church is well on its way to becoming subverted by the Communist conspiracy.

An example of Birchism in the Catholic Church is the Theresians,

a lay organization with headquarters in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Say the Theresians, "The threat of Communism is grossly underestimated by the people of the U.S. Any person taking up the Paul Revere cry is labeled an alarmist by the sleepers. Publicists and politicians cry 'witch hunt' when efforts are made to expose Communists or to root out traitors of our own government." They continue, "We must recognize that WE ARE AT WAR . . . total war with Russia. Russia intends our destruction. The Communist goal is to have the U.S. by 1973."

Taking as their motto the words of Joan of Arc, "I will drive the strangers from the land," they urge an action program straight out of the arsenal of the Ultras. For viewing they recommend "Communism on the Map" and "Operation Abolition." For listening they recommend tapes by Fred Schwarz and Edward Hunter, and the radio commentaries of the Birchers' quartet: Dean Manion, Bob Siegrist, Fulton Lewis Jr., Paul Harvey. And for reading they offer "The Wanderer," "The Tablet," the "Cardinal Mindszenty Newsletter" and Robert Welch's "American Opinion." We must choose, declare the Theresians, "either for brotherhood in Christ or comradeship in anti-Christ."

Like many other organizations in the super-patriotic army of the Ultras, the Theresians in their literature make use of a certain spurious quotation, originated by Robert Welch in his Blue Book and alleged to have come from Lenin. Welch, at least, prefaced his use of it by the qualifying words, "paraphrased and summarized." Others, including the Theresians conveniently dropped the qualification and simply present it as a straight quotation. Lenin, they allege, said, "First we will take Eastern Europe; then the masses of Asia. Then we will encircle the United States of America which will be the last bastion of capitalism. We will not have to attack it, it will fall like an overripe fruit into our hands."*

This same alleged quote is contained in the literature of another organization of Catholic Ultras, the Cardinal Mindszenty foundation of St. Louis. The Foundation works through "cells" and the Birchite priest Father Ginder claims that there are over 3000 such cells all over the country. Recruitment takes place at parish meetings, Knights of Columbus Halls and other gathering places of Catholic clergymen and laymen. The Mindszenty-ites seem to favor tightly organized study classes formed around a ten week syllabus. Typical questions in these

*Chicago Daily News columnist Jack Mabley reports that an inquiry as to the authenticity of this so-called quote was sent to the Library of Congress. Users of the "quote" had alleged that it was contained in the Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. 16. Replied Henry J. Dubester, Chief of the general reference and bibliography division, Library of Congress: "though we have checked Volume 16 in the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Russian editions, and in the edition published in English by the Cooperative Society of Foreign Workers in the U.S.S.R., we have found no such statement."

In addition to the Birch Society, other users of this phony quote in various tracts and booklets are the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, the National Education Program, and the Christian Crusade. The film "Communism on the Map" uses the "quote" repeatedly.

courses of study are: "Can we combat Communist ideology with materialistic measures such as economic aid?" "Why did we not win the Korean War with atomic weapons?" and "How has Communist espionage corrupted the diplomatic service?" The Foundation has an especially warm spot in its heart for the House Un-American Activities Committee. It makes constant use of the film "Operation Abolition" and the various documents produced by HUAC.

The fact that their allies in the camp of super-patriotism are often the very elements that have traditionally spouted virulent anti-Catholicism seems not to bother the Catholic Ultras. Speaking before the Diocesan Council of Catholic Women in Peoria, Illinois, Bishop John Wright said:

"You can always get more Catholics than Protestants to join an organization looking for the impeachment of Earl Warren. Any super-duper patriotic organization that wants the United Nations kicked out of New York will always find a large number of Catholic cranks going around collecting signatures . . . These little things, you know, are a kind of sick-in-the-head patriotism—not patriotism at all, but mere nervous indigestion."

The good Bishop may be right; Robert Welch estimates that half of the members of the John Birch Society are Catholics. Yet, crank for crank, the fundamentalist wing of Protestantism would probably come out ahead in a contest; both in quantity and quality.

"National Council of Judases" is Birchite Tom Anderson's term for the National Council of Churches. This is typical of the fantastic campaign of filth and slander to which the Council has been subjected by the Ultras. Four organizations make up the spearhead of this attack: The Church League of America, headed by Edgar C. Bundy; the American and International Councils of Christian Churches, led by Carl McIntire; Billy James Hargis' Christian Crusade; and Myers G. Lowman's Circuit Riders.

Edgar Bundy, an officer in the Air Force Reserve, is the author of "Collectivism in the Church," a volume recommended by the John Birch Society. In this book and through his Church League of America, Bundy spews forth an unending stream of vituperation against the National Council and World Council of Churches. He charges them with being hotbeds of "subversion," a term which for him is synonymous with Christian social concern. He thrashes out at Protestant clergymen as if they were Khrushchev's very own fifth column in America. He makes quick sorties into cities and towns throughout the nation, unloads a blast of his sawed off shotgun and hurries off to his next stop. Speaking in Youngstown, Ohio before the Lions Club he thundered, "The State Department is full of Communists!" In Denver, Colorado before an Americanism Council audience he charged that a local Methodist Minister was "unfit to hold a pulpit" because he was a "fellow traveller." Editorializing on this visit, the Denver Post said, "The vileness of such a charge made by Captain Bundy cannot be

overlooked. Bundy can hop on a plane, as he immediately did, and leave town. Pastor ——— must stay and attempt to live down the sparks of suspicion such maliciousness as Bundy's undocumented allegations brings into being."

Carl McIntire is a defrocked minister of the Presbyterian Church whose American and International Councils of Christian Churches are supposed to be rivals of the National and World Councils. He claims a membership of 220,000 for the A.C.C.C. and 1,100,000 for the I.C.C.C. McIntire bills himself as "Protestants' No. 1 Anti-Communist Clergyman." His radio program, the Twentieth Century Reformation Hour, is broadcast on 150 stations across the country.

McIntire is an endorser of the John Birch Society and his "sermons" show it. According to the authoritative report "Sowing Dissension in the Churches," produced by the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Protestant Episcopal Church, McIntire has asserted "that the teaching of the 'fatherhood of God' is false." He says that the civil rights movement is "serving the ends of radical powers that are working for a socialistic order in this free land," and that "the racial brotherhood emphasis produces the class and racial strife in which the Communists delight." Ralph Lord Roy, an authoritative student of extremism in the churches, reports that the "Ku Klux Klan has recommended McIntire's group to their members."

The third member of this bucket-of-tar brigade is Billy James Hargis. Two qualities distinguish him: He's about as extremist as they come in the world of the Ultras and he's by far the most enterprising of the right wing hustlers.

Hargis puts his views forward as if they were calculated to shock the listener or reader into believing that this is his very last chance to save himself from being taken over by the Communists. The following are some examples, taken from his book, "Communist America: Must it be?":

"the majority of American newspapers are actively promoting the Communist line."

"from 75 to 80 per cent of the responsible officers in the department (of Health, Education, and Welfare) are conspirators."

"Decisions of the Supreme Court, within the past five years alone, have strengthened the Communist conspiracy within and against America, by weakening the power of the nation to fight back. America—and the American people—today are practically powerless against the enemy."

Having read this, Hargis' faithful reader is by this time frantic. What can he possibly do to save himself and his country? Hargis has the answer: "prayer and sacrifice" will save you. And Billy James provides all the paraphernalia necessary, at a price. Almost every page of his magazine offers a book or record to pray with and an opportunity to sacrifice: Christian Faith Recordings (\$4.98); Billy James Hargis' Favorite Hymns (\$1.00); Bible Story puppets; films on "Com-

munism in American Churches" (\$65.00 per print, "including film, reel, can"); copies of Hargis' speech "We Have Been Betrayed" (\$1.00); appeals for radio funds, building funds, TV funds, Christian Crusade Hospitals in Haiti, books, pamphlets and Nutri-Bio (for "glowing good health"). Actually, Nutri-Bio may now be off his sales list; in November, 1961 the Food and Drug Administration found that it was "promoted by false and misleading labelling claims," and seized all available stocks of it.

Hargis reserves his most poisonous venom for the major churches. No epithet against them is too strong for him. He writes of the "stench of subterfuge" in "National Council-affiliated churches," in one issue of his magazine. In the same issue he features an article by an out and out Jew-hater, D. Donzov, a leader of the Ukrainian pro-Nazi organization, the "Banderists." In the editorial note on the article, Hargis' man in Washington, General Willoughby, boasts of his "amicable" relations with Dr. Jaroslav Stetzko, whom he describes as the "Prime Minister of the Ukrainian Republic." He fails to mention that Stetzko was "Prime Minister" under the Nazis and that he was actually Hitler's Ukrainian gauleiter when thousands of Ukrainian Christians and Jews were being cremated in Nazi ovens. It is characteristic of Hargis that he writes of the "stench" of the churches on one page and boasts of friendship with men like Donzov and Stetzko on the next.

The final member of this dubious team is Myers G. Lowman, head of the Circuit Riders, which is headquartered in Cincinnati. Lowman started his operations within the Methodist Church, but soon decided that this limited him too much, so he took on all the Protestant churches. He writes and sells booklets ("2109 Methodist Ministers—A Compilation of Public Records," "614 Presbyterian Church U.S.A. Clergymen," "Recognize Red China? An Expose of the National Council of Churches," "20.5%—1411 Protestant Episcopal Rectors," etc.) He also possesses a wide variety of other talents, as evidenced by the Protestant Episcopal report, "Sowing Dissension in the Churches":

"On August 3, 1958, the Atlanta Journal and Constitution reported that Lowman had been employed as a 'secret investigator' for the Georgia Commission on Education. The newspaper reported that 'the employment came to light through the devious method of paying the Ohioan \$4,500 for his six months of work.' The fee was paid 'for services rendered for investigation and research.' In the same story Governor Griffin of Georgia is reported as saying that 'Lowman was recommended by segregation leaders in Louisiana' where he did a similar job for the General Assembly. At the same time it was reported that Lowman had done similar work for the Georgia States Rights Council, 'a private anti-integration organization.'"

Lowman apparently found this work to his liking. In 1960 he was touring the State of Mississippi as a paid lecturer for the citizens councils. His theme: the NAACP, CORE, and the entire movement for racial equality is a big atheistic communist conspiracy.

Another of Lowman's fantastic themes is that the Revised Standard Version of the Bible is a Communist inspired hoax. In his booklet "30 of the 95," he charges that 30 of the 95 persons connected with the translation and publication of the Revised Standard Version have been "Communist fellow travellers in one form or another." After detailed examination of this fraud, the Department of Christian Relations of the Episcopal Church concluded that it was "worthless as evidence of probative value, and useful only for smear purposes."

Of Lowman's organization, the General Conference of the Methodist Church stated in May, 1960: "We regret that any Methodists contribute either money or leadership to such organizations as Circuit Riders, Inc. which utilize the 'guilt by association' and 'fellow traveller' approaches as they stir up unjustified suspicion and develop unfounded fears."

Actually all of the major Protestant denominations and the Roman Catholic Church are clearly hostile toward the Ultras. They recognize in them a dangerous revival of know-nothingism designed to create confusion and hysteria. In the mind of the Birchite every respected institution in American life is suspect, and the churches are high on his list.

On November 15, 1961 the Roman Catholic Bishops of the United States received a report sharply condemning the "anti-Communist extremists." It said, after careful analysis, that they were "unwittingly aiding the Communist cause by dividing and confusing Americans."

The respected Protestant journal Christian Century said on March 29, 1961:

"Christians will continue to oppose Communist subversion by means which present the effective alternative to this form of totalitarianism—the championship of free institutions under the American Constitution. But we will be spiritually blind and deaf as well as politically stupid if we try to oppose one form of totalitarianism—communism—with another—fascism. We can defend freedom and truth by repudiating both forms of subversion and by daring to speak the truth boldly, as free men who have nothing to fear."

Lining Up the Public

WHEN the military elite and the civilian Ultras coalesced it was evident that one of their problems would be to secure mass publicity, grass roots support and the endorsement of legislators.

One legislative group, the House Un-American Activities Committee, was an obvious ally. Under attack from the liberals, the HUAC seemed a discredited, shrill relic of the McCarthy era until the Ultras revived its reputation with the grass roots by promoting the film "Operation Abolition."

The theme of the film is a typical Ultra proposition: that opposition to the House Committee by students, civil libertarians, Democratic party groups, trade unionists, church groups and other conscientious citizens is nothing less than a gigantic Communist plot. The film has been seen by twenty million people, a merchandising job of which the Ultras are extremely proud.

Full of fraud and distortion, "Operation Abolition" cites as an example of a "meeting . . . designed to incite resentment against the Committee and to recruit more volunteers for action . . .", a civil liberties discussion at which the main speakers were Canon Byfield of the Episcopal Diocese of San Francisco and two Democratic Assemblymen from that city.

Thus, a meeting held publicly, with open discussion, to defend civil liberties is seized on by HUAC as an example of incitement against the committee. It seeks to link this meeting with the violence which took place at the City Hall hearings, despite the fact that a leaflet was distributed urging non-violence and cooperation with law enforcement authorities.

Throughout "Operation Abolition", this technique is used. Sinister words are employed to describe open and democratic activities. An inaccurate report of a resolution passed at a public meeting describes it as a "directive". The film asserts that a student started the violence in City Hall, a charge rejected by a jury in San Francisco which acquitted the accused.

But the plot theory comes to its culmination in an incredible omission in the film. One of the main reasons why the students inside City Hall demonstrated was that the Committee was employing its usual stacking techniques. Young people who had queued up for hours watched card-carrying DAR members simply walk in ahead of them and get seated, a crucial fact which is not mentioned. The film also fails to tell the audience that the Sheriff of San Francisco said that if he had arrived five minutes earlier, the "riot" would have been avoided because he was going to announce a new seating policy!

There is no mention of the real motives of the students involved in the City Hall events—since that would discredit the theory that the affair was the work of Communist conspirators. So the House Committee produces a "riot" (one member called it "toying with treason") which could have been put down, not with fire hoses or with the army, but by a new seating arrangement.

While it is easy to poke holes in this film, "Operation Abolition" is not a matter for levity. If it has been laughed and hoisted off a score of campuses by students who saw through the fraud, it has also

been shown in hundreds and thousands of meetings across the nation. Church groups, PTA's, military installations, veterans organizations, all of these have used the film. It has been a major transmission belt for the Ultra's conspiracy thesis; it is another example of the high seriousness of this movement.

"Communism on the Map" is the other attraction on the big Ultra film bill. If anything it is even more crude and reactionary than "Operation Abolition". Its function is to identify Communism with any liberal impulse for change and social progress. Actually, the film is, in essence, a pictorial presentation of chapter one of the Blue Book of the John Birch Society, entitled "Look at the Score", which purports to trace the "threat we face". Whole sections of the film are virtually identical, word for word, with passages in the Blue Book. The script writer of the film was Glen A. Green, then a high officer of the National Education Program, the rightist group which produced the film, and now a "Coordinator" for the John Birch Society on the East coast.

In the April, 1961 Bulletin of the John Birch Society, Robert Welch wrote: "Our people have also been responsible for the production, and then during the past several months for virtually thousands of showings, of a film strip called Communism on the Map . . . Full credit for providing the organization, financing, prestige, and practical circumstances for such work must go entirely to the National Education Program of Searcy, Arkansas headed by that great American, Dr. George Benson. But this film strip was conceived, prepared, and produced by an ardent member of the John Birch Society, partly from our materials."

The film, which lasts for one hour, purports to document the danger of Communism to America by tracing its historic growth on a world map. In the first section it deals with the conquest of power by the Communists in Russia, China and Eastern Europe. The second section is devoted to giving the viewer the "true" picture of how Communism "really" dominates all of Western Europe, all of Asia except Formosa, all of the Middle East, most of Africa, most of Latin America, and Greenland, Iceland, and Hawaii. The third section portrays the United States, surrounded and isolated by Communism and its pawns, in mortal danger from the "pro-Communist" forces within who dominate its labor unions and are entrenched in Government, the schools, the press, etc. The main point driven home at the end of the film is that the menace we face is not military, but rather the danger of gradual infiltration and softening up internally by "hidden" Communist agents who are in all key areas of U.S. life preparing us for the final takeover.

This paranoid fantasy has been viewed, according to an article in the New York Times, by 10 million persons in schools, service clubs, industrial plants, political forums, and defense establishments all over the country. Its crude identification of Communism with liberalism

and democratic socialism, its wild charges that our Government is ridden with Communists did not stop Vice Admiral Charles M. Melson, Commander of the First Fleet of the U.S. Navy, from calling it "an excellent film", or Vice Admiral Howard A. Yeager, Commander of the Amphibious Forces Pacific from saying, "These are things all Americans should know about." (San Diego Union, Aug. 11, 1960.)*

A 16MM version of this film fraud is now being distributed under the title of "Communist Encirclement: 1961". It is in every respect identical with "Communism on the Map", complete with half truths, distortions, and outright lies.

Films are only one of the frauds in the Ultra movement's bag of tricks. In an age of mass communication they use every medium known to man: television, radio, magazines, newspapers, mass rallies. They even hired an airplane in Cleveland, Ohio to haul giant floats bearing the words "Impeach Earl Warren".

Perhaps the most effective single propaganda effort of the Ultras to date was Fred Schwarz' Hollywood Bowl rally of October 16, 1961. Fifteen thousand sons and daughters of the film capitol were on hand to cheer Life Magazine's publisher C. D. Jackson as he proclaimed Life's solidarity with the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade. Hollywood actor George Murphy performed the role of master of ceremonies surrounded by James Stewart, Caesar Romero, Lloyd Nolan, Dale Evans, Roy Rogers and producer Jack Warner. John Wayne led the oath of allegiance and Connie Haines sang the Star Spangled Banner. The record indicates that this group, representing the know-nothing, fundamentalist wing of the Hollywood set volunteered their services without benefit of summons by the House Un-American Activities Committee. Perhaps the ideological highpoint of the rally came with Cleon Skousen's cry, "Russia go home, and take your spies with you!" The rally wound up with Schwarz summoning his followers to go to "the young people and set their hearts on fire." (thunderous applause). The loudest round of boos and jeers of the evening was reserved for the New York Times.

An estimated 4 million persons in six states watched this extravaganza for 3 hours over television. Time was pre-empted from regularly scheduled programs on 33 TV stations throughout the West, courtesy of Technicolor Corp. and Schick Safety Razor Company who shelled out an estimated \$50,000. Then, on November 11th, the entire telecast

*Other users of the film listed by the NEP include:

The Air Intelligence Reserve Training Unit of the U.S. Navy at Floyd Bennett Field, N. Y.; The U.S. Naval Auxiliary Air Station at Whiting Field, Florida; The Bureau of Naval Weapons of the Navy Dept. in Washington, D.C.; The San Diego Marine Corps Recruit Depot; The Naval Air Station, North Island, Calif.; The California Air National Guard of Compton, Calif.; The Naval Air Station at Memphis, Tenn.; The USS Midway; H. L. Miller, Chief of Staff, Naval Air Forces, Pacific Fleet; The Indiana Farm Bureau; Kiwanis International; Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co.; Boeing Airplane Co.; Minnesota Mining and Mfg. Co.; Aluminum Co. of America; Revere Copper and Brass Co.; Texas Power and Light Co.

was brought to New York City where it was shown during prime television time on WPIX-TV as part of the campaign to soften up the city for Schwarz' Spring, 1962 invasion.

The Christian Anti-Communism Crusade without doubt excels the rest of the Ultras when it comes to the effective use of mass propaganda techniques. Before Schwarz invades an area he never fails to soften it up with a barrage of heavy artillery. Local notables are corraled to lend their names as sponsors of the "anti-communism school" or "rally". Newspapers, radio, and TV are carefully cultivated for publicity, both free and paid. Whenever possible local or state officials are brought into the act: In Miami, Mayor Robert King High declared an "Anti-Communism Week" in honor of Schwarz' arrival; in Indiana, the Crusade's publicity machine got Governor Handley to proclaim "Anti-Communism Week" for the entire state while Schwarz ran a week long seminar in Indianapolis. Then, when the Australian arrives, he knows that he's assured of a crowd and he works them over from every angle. Attendance fees range from \$15 to \$30 per person, depending on the number of lectures. Donations are solicited and Crusade literature, much of it luridly illustrated, is sold. One week-long school in August, 1961 in Los Angeles netted the Crusade \$214,000, according to the New York Times. That show too was telecast, with Richfield Oil Company picking up the tab.

Billy James Hargis is another Ultra who appreciates the television medium. He has available a series of 26 TV programs, filmed at a cost of \$78,000, and available free to any station. So far 14 outlets have been persuaded to show the films. Hargis also utilizes radio for his message of fear. Until recently he played the radio field on a catch-as-catch-can basis by producing tapes that were offered free to stations, which ran them as a "public service" or "religious" feature. But the Christian Crusade leader is an enterprising man and he apparently felt that his talents deserved more than the 70 odd stations that were using the tapes. So for a price of \$37,870, which is the low rate for "religious" organizations, he signed a contract with Mutual Network to do 26 half hour programs coast-to-coast, beginning in the Fall of 1961.

Another ultraconservative radio series is produced by Life Lines, a rightist outfit headquartered in Washington, D. C. and financed by the multi-millionaire oilman from Texas, H. L. Hunt. The series has several hundred stations throughout the country, especially in the South. A more appropriate name for it might be "death lines", for its never ending theme is to blast the United Nations as a satanic instrument of "one worldism".

Ultra Publications

THE list of right wing publications is an almost unending one and no useful purpose would be served in merely cataloging them here. The point is that together they make a huge impact. In number and volume they far exceed those of the liberal left. Interestingly, the most successful ones are those not actually connected with the organizations of the Ultras: Human Events, Dan Smoot's Report, National Review. Human Events is one of the favorites of the John Birch Society which has been conducting a high pressure campaign to force the major airlines to stock it in their racks. Its circulation exceeds that of the liberal weeklies, the Nation and New Republic.

Dan Smoot is a former FBI agent, much in favor on the hustings of the extreme right. His Report is probably the most rabid of the successful Ultra publications, containing a running fire on almost every respected institution in American life.

National Review keeps one foot in the pad of the Ultras and the other in the camp of old style reaction. Its editorial board is similarly divided, with James Burnham invariably providing the sophisticated, cultured rationale for the line of the most dyed-in-the-wool extremists. Editor Buckley however consistently acts like the middle aged editor who has wearied of his youthful conservative idealism and lacks the zest to resist the pressures and blandishments of the Ultras.

Each of these publications has benefited by a recent phenomenon on the right: the mushrooming of bookshops that specialize in "Americanist" literature. There are now several dozen of these outlets, with new ones appearing regularly. Each stocks the current best selling books and pamphlets of the radical right; a sort of literary underworld. The granddaddies of these shops are two booksellers: the Bookmailer in New York and Poor Richard's Book Shop in Los Angeles. The Bookmailer is also in the business of publishing its own pamphlets, its most recent effort being a defense of General Walker. The West Coast is ahead in the burgeoning bookshop development with such stores as the Heritage Book Shoppe in Van Nuys, the Freedom Bookstores in Fullerton and Whittier, the Minuteman in Pasadena, Crowe's bookstore in Santa Barbara, and the Betsy Ross Bookshop in West Los Angeles.

Among the current best-selling titles are "Quiet Betrayal", "Inside the State Department", "Behind the UN Front", "Gold Swindle", "How Red is the National Council of Churches?", "The Naked Communist", "The John Franklin Letters", "Collectivism in the Churches", "The Untold Story of Panama", "Keynes at Harvard", "Yalta Betrayal", "I was a Spy", and "Communist Propaganda in American Schools". Note how most of these titles, in the characteristic mode of

the Ultras, play on the note of betrayal, spying, swindling, infiltrating. In the spook world of the right, nothing ever is as it appears to be; instead there is a constant struggle between the clean-cut, patriotic, up-standing forces of light, and the sinister, dark, sneaky subverters and conspirators. Actually this has been the characteristic mentality of all authoritarian movements throughout history. Interestingly the title of the single most widely touted book among the Ultras is a classic example of this mentality: "Masters of Deceit" by J. Edgar Hoover.

In addition to their magazines, pamphlets and books, the radical right purveys its zealotry in some newspapers. The treatment offered them by the daily press has been spotty, with the preponderance of dailies adopting a cool or hostile attitude toward the Birch Society but a much warmer one to the more careful Schwarz. The Hearst papers are divided among themselves, sometimes even within the same city, as in Los Angeles. One paper, the San Diego Union, has practically acted as an organ of the Ultras. The Union is the property of the Copley chain, which has conducted showings of "Communism on the Map" to more than 200,000 people in the California communities it serves. Its community relations director, Commander Paul Terry, USN (ret.) works closely with George Benson and has had a high award bestowed upon him by Freedoms Foundation of Valley Forge.

Some of the Birchers have their own papers or columns in which to peddle their politics. Thomas Anderson of Nashville, for example is a member of the Council of the Birch Society who publishes "Farm and Ranch", with a rural circulation running into the hundreds of thousands. Along with information about seeds and cattle, the farmers read about "treason" in the Supreme Court. Kent Courtney in Louisiana is another high Bircher who has his own paper, "Independent American." Courtney divides his space between advocating a new rightist political party and pushing the Welch line.

The Birchite with by far the largest audience of all is Father Richard Ginder, a Roman Catholic priest in the tradition of Father Coughlin. What Ginder has to say about the Papal Encyclical "Mater et Magistra" is not known, but the logic of his position must certainly lead his readers to regard it as pure Communism. Father Ginder is a columnist for "Our Sunday Visitor" a Catholic weekly with circulation running into many millions. The Ginder column appears on the paper's editorial page. Typical of his messages is the following from his column of September 17, 1961:

"If there are any other people like me reading this, you should know that the one thing the Reds *don't* want you to do is to organize a little 'fringe group' of 'radical right wingers' all your own. So go ahead and do it. It's easy. Just write to Dean Manion, South Bend, Ind., and he will send you a sheet of suggestions."

Dean Clarence Manion is one of the original founders and a member of the Council of the John Birch Society. He's also a leading Ultra in his own right and operates his own organization, the Manion

Forum, which also carries on extensive radio work.

This rundown of the public relations and propaganda efforts of the radical right is by no means complete. But the evidence is clear: right wing extremism has the resources and the power to mobilize an extremely effective and diversified brainwashing operation. They are in the major leagues in the world of hucksterism. They cannot be regarded as merely a fringe grouping of meaningless sects talking to themselves. For although they do have scores of such sects in their midst, taken as a whole they are a movement and they speak to millions. It is because their voice is one of hatred, divisiveness, and hysteria that all decent, democratic elements in the nation must join together to fight back and to mobilize superior resources for sanity.

The Ultras and the Corporations

"This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience."

"The Total influence—economic, political, even spiritual—is felt in every city, every state house, every office in the Federal Government."

"We must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. . . ."

"We must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex."

Dwight D. Eisenhower

THE Ultras have their ties to the military, they operate a vast grass roots network, and their tentacles intertwine with a powerful sector of American big business, as we shall show in this chapter. The war economy has forged a strong link between the military and corporate hierarchies. The power of this complex depends, to a considerable extent, on the contracts which the corporations get from the military services. This gives both the military and industrial leaders a vested interest in opposing disarmament, social spending (which might detract from military spending) and in promoting a "tough" line in the cold war.

In calendar 1959 and fiscal 1960, the Boeing Airplane Company was second and third respectively in getting a share of prime defense contracts. In the same period, General Electric was fifth and fourth, and General Dynamics led the list in both years. Boeing, in this time employed some 30 retired high military officers, General Electric had 35 and General Dynamics, as befits its number one position, had 54.

It should be noted in this regard that two of these three corpora-

tions—Boeing and General Electric—had had various connections with the Ultra right in recent years, facts which are a matter of public record. Boeing has a long history of attacks upon unionism and active participation in "right-to-work" campaigns in a number of states. They are also intensely active in the showing of the Ultra film "Communism on the Map" to their employees and to the communities in which they are located. Boeing was the corporation that loaned the film to the Seattle Naval Air base, where it was used as part of Commander Sanger's campaign to Ultracize his men. A high Boeing Company official is also chairman of a local "anti-Communist" committee in Seattle that is trying to stir up the same kind of hysteria that exists elsewhere.

General Electric, along with its price-fixing and union busting, has many ties with the Ultras. For example, it works closely with the National Education Program of Searcy, Arkansas. To test just how closely they cooperate the author of this pamphlet wrote, under a pen name, to the N.E.P. He got back a letter dated March 25, 1961 from Howard Bennett, Vice-President of the Searcy organization. "The General Electric Company," said Bennett, "uses the N.E.P. films extensively in their many plants." He further listed the following industrialists as willing to recommend his organization: Ralph Cordiner, W. V. Merrihue, J. J. McCarthy, Frank E. Highton, Roy Fugal and Peter Steele, all high officials of General Electric Company, and other top representatives of U.S. Steel, Lone Star Cement, Olin Mathieson Chemical, and the American Iron and Steel Institute. To make certain that Bennett was not indulging in empty boasting, a letter was dispatched to the man in charge of employee relations for the entire General Electric empire, G. Roy Fugal. Back came this reply on the Company's official stationery: "It is a pleasure to endorse, without reservation, the National Education Program. For years, this organization, located at Harding College in Arkansas, has fostered through educational and other means, programs to develop understanding, appreciation, determination and active participation on the part of all Americans." The letter was signed by Fugal in his official capacity as Manager of Employment Practices. Thus did G.E. make clear that it was lined up with one of the major inciters of the Ultra rightist reaction that is plaguing the country today.

Besides General Electric and other corporations mentioned in Howard Bennett's letter, the N.E.P. and Harding College have even more big business ties; as evidenced by the following companies, high officials of which participate in their activities: Monsanto Chemical Co., Swift and Co., Mississippi Power Co., Washington Water Power Co., and Union Bag Camp Corp. The last named firm is a giant in the paper industry that conducts its own "employee training" program against "socialistic" ideas; a euphemism for anti-union, anti-liberal brainwashing of a captive audience.

The 1961 annual meeting of the American Petroleum Institute,

representing scores of oil companies, honored NEP president George Benson by featuring a speech by him. Benson flew from Searcy to Chicago to lecture the oil tycoons on the "Communist menace" to "free enterprise." He proposed that they get sets of the NEP's "25 films of our American way of life and on Communism." Then he added: "If the oil companies do an adequate job selling themselves to their communities they will at the same time sell the continuation of the depletion allowance."

Another power in the military-industrial complex that enjoys millions of dollars in defense contracts is Jones and Laughlin Steel. It was Murray Kempton, the brilliant columnist for the New York Post, who revealed that hiding behind a "civil defense" program, Jones and Laughlin actively promotes the Ultra line. They own three copies of "Communism on the Map" which are constantly in use "for showing to the supervisory personnel throughout the corporation." They issue a regular bulletin to employees entitled "Planning and Organizing for Disaster", complete with quotations from Fred Schwarz and other rightists. Bulletin No. 12 quotes the San Diego Union: "The important characteristic of the cold war is not the physical threat, great as it may be. What is important is that this war can be won without a single shot . . . It could be won by the invisible softening-up attack where an entire nation is brainwashed into believing surrender is proper and regimentation is good." The same Bulletin lauds the House Un-American Activities Committee; tells the employees that a major aim of the Communists is to discredit J. Edgar Hoover; and urges Jones and Laughlin workers to check with the FBI and the Justice Department "if you have any doubts about an organization or publication". As Kempton says, "The conspiracy is everywhere".

Jones and Laughlin merely promotes Bircholatry, there is no evidence of its having actual ties to the Society. But other firms are less cautious. For example, the Allen Bradley Co. of Milwaukee, an industrial manufacturer that was among the ring of firms found guilty, along with G.E., of wholesale price fixing. Allen Bradley works closely and openly with Welch: It advertises in every issue of his magazine, it echoes his line, and when the leader of the Birch Society came to Milwaukee, Allen Bradley promoted his meeting. It is also the firm that reproduced and distributed Fred Schwarz' testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee. The reprint, which is without doubt the most widely circulated single piece of rightist propaganda in the country, must have cost a small fortune. Schwarz claims for it "wider distribution than any other government document in the history of the United States, with the possible exception of the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution." He doesn't indicate which he thinks is best.

Another openly Birchite company is Cherokee Textile Mills of Tennessee. This cotton manufacturing firm is embroiled in a dispute with the U.S. Post Office over its use of the John Birch Society slogan,

"This is a Republic, not a Democracy, let's keep it that way!" on its mailmeter. They too are steady advertisers in American Opinion. A recent ad proclaimed, "The personal Income Tax, which was devised by Karl Marx and was prescribed by him in the Communist Manifesto for the self destruction of America, is the source of all evil."

The Birch Society boasts of a number of industrialists on its Board, including three former presidents of the National Association of Manufacturers. Welch himself is a former NAM official and seems to enjoy close relations with them. Also on the Board are past or present top officials of the Missouri Chamber of Commerce, Associated Industries of Missouri, the Indiana State Chamber of Commerce and Associated Industries of Massachusetts. One of these organizations, Associated Industries of Missouri, also actively works with the National Education Program and Christian Anti-Communism Crusade.

There are other, many more indications of Ultra penetration of big business. The Institute for American Strategy has incredibly strong connections; so does Freedom's Foundation of Valley Forge. But in addition to these, it is not surprising that the Ultras have one special organization devoted entirely to mobilizing private industry behind their anti-conspiracy crusade: The American Security Council.

THE AMERICAN SECURITY COUNCIL

The American Security Council is the Ultra organization which originally formed to develop a private and extremist loyalty board for American industry. Untouched by the minimal and inadequate regulations enforced in Government agencies during the McCarthy period, it allowed identification of "subversives" and "statists" on the most fanciful basis, and caused firings without due process.

In recent years, the ASC has become more ambitious and sophisticated. It retains the private inquisition function, but it has also gone into the business of foreign policy and strategy, with a "National Strategy Committee" which boasts Admiral Arthur W. Radford, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Organized in 1955 by a group of former FBI men, ASC's purpose was to provide information to American corporations on "Communist and other statist activities". By July, 1961, ASC's Operating Director, Jack E. Ison, claimed that his organization had enrolled 2900 member companies, who were paying annual dues which ranged from \$30 for those employing one to twenty-four workers, to \$900 for those employing over 10,000 workers.

The Council claims that it has doubled its membership every year since 1955 and that its membership goal is 10,000 member corporations.

According to the ASC, it has "seven major files and libraries on Communism and statism. It has the largest private files on Communism in this country." And, "The FBI cannot provide specific in-

formation to help private groups because its files are secret. Business therefore organized the American Security Council to be better informed and more effective in jointly meeting the Communist threat."

There is no attempt to hide the fact that the ASC provides the corporations with an unregulated, Ultra loyalty system. One of its brochures proudly declares, "Defense industries use the Council's files as a source of information for their personnel screening programs."

The backbone of the ASC files were purchased from the late Harry Jung for \$35,000, according to the New York Post of July 9, 1958. Of Jung, the Chicago Sun Times said, "Harry Jung (was) one of Chicago's most notorious purveyors of anti-Semitic propaganda during the 1930's and an old time labor foe."

What kind of political judgements are made against individuals in this informal screening? The specific answer to this question is in the files of some American corporations. But the general political conceptions of the ASC are quite public, and they give a revealing picture of what is regarded as "subversion".

The ASC, as some of the quotations above indicate, lumps the Communists together with the "statists".

In its June 16, 1961 Washington Report (the ASC newsletter), Presidential advisors McGeorge Bundy, Walt Rostow and George Kennan were accused of being defeatists about Communism. The Vienna meeting between Khrushchev and Kennedy is described as sowing "the seeds of the most tragic miscalculation of all; acceptance by the U.S. policy advisors of the Communist myth that America is helpless to stem the 'inevitable' expansion of Soviet-Communist power."

And the ASC regards the development of the strategy seminars of groups like the Institute for American Strategy as a most hopeful sign.

With the intellectual premises that Presidential advisors are capitulating to Communism, that "statism" is to be equated with Communism, and that Americanism equals the line of the IAS and other Ultra groups, one can imagine the definition of "subversion" which operates in the ASC. The private loyalty program which these corporations participate in through the Council is one of the most irresponsible, dangerous attacks on freedom of opinion in the nation today.

The loyalty check function of the ASC was typical of the period of its origin. In 1955, this was the main theme of the right, but in recent years the Council has developed programs similar to those of the other sophisticated Ultra organizations. Uniting military leaders, corporate executives and former agents of the FBI, it has entered the foreign policy business.

The Council states that its members include "newspapers, magazines, financial institutions, colleges, foundations, industrial firms, transportation companies, department stores, and many others. Together ASC members have offices or plants in thousands of communities and have millions of employees".

On this base, the Council seeks to build its pivotal power: "A common program followed by these companies will have tremendous effect."

And, in another context, the Council noted that "A major function of the ASC Washington Bureau is to maintain close liaison with the legislative and executive branches of government and the armed forces. During 1960, eight government agencies and two congressional committees obtained information from the Council's Research and Information Center on a regular basis."

Allowing for some trumpeting by the ASC, its leaders and friends represent something more than a group of self-important braggarts. They come from the military-industrial complex. The Director of the Council's Washington office is Rear Admiral Chester Ward, whose wild charges of "treason" in government were mentioned earlier. The Field Director is Cleon Skousen, ex-FBI man and frequent lecturer for Fred Schwarz.

The Council's "National Strategy Committee" lists Admiral Radford, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, who has ties and influence at the very highest levels in Washington. Serving with him on the Strategy Committee are Lt. Gen. Edward M. Almond, a member of the Committee of Endorsers of the Birch Society, Admiral Ben Morrell, Chairman of the Board of Jones and Laughlin, Dr. Stefan Possony of the University of Pennsylvania Institute of Foreign Policy, Admiral Felix B. Stump, a board member of the Freedoms Foundation, Rear Admiral Chester Ward, and General Albert Wedemeyer, a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee of Robert Welch's magazine, American Opinion.

On the "Senior Advisory Board" of the ASC, the emphasis runs to corporate power rather than to military connections. Among the members are Bennet Archambault, President of the Stewart-Warner Corp., John T. Beatty, President of the United Specialties Corp., Charles C. Craigmile, President of the Beldon Manufacturing Corp., Robert W. Galvin, President of Motorola, Inc., Fred M. Gillies, retired chairman of the Board of Acme Steel Corp., Wayne A. Johnston, President of the Illinois Central Railroad, Hughston M. McBain, Chairman of the Board of Marshall Field & Company, General Robert E. Wood, retired Chairman of Sears Roebuck, Stephen L. Donchess, an officer of U.S. Steel, Russel E. White, an officer of General Electric, and Cyril Hooper, an executive of the Stewart-Warner Corporation.

Thus, the business wing of the Ultra movement began with private security checking, as one might expect. But now, it has utilized its connections with military power in order to broaden out into the whole field of proposing strategy and advising the Government. In this function, it can call upon important political leaders. Like the other organizations of the American Ultras, it is a serious, effective operation.

Racism, Politics and the Ultras

THERE is growing evidence of a link-up between the Ultras and Southern racist reaction. Both groupings have strong ties to the military-industrial complex. It is significant that the two Senators who screeched loudest about Senator Fulbright's memorandum and General Walker's transfer were Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, Dixiecrat candidate for President in 1948, and Barry Goldwater. Both are also Generals in the reserve.

The strong ties between the Birchites and the military-industrial complex have already been pointed out. The Southern racists also have such ties. A disproportionate number of America's military leaders come from the South, and always have. The South is the one section of the country to have strong military traditions and inordinate respect for the military profession. It abounds in military schools, like the Citadel. It contains an unusually high percentage of our military training sites. And as the South has industrialized its political leaders have become far more responsive to the views and interests of the industrial corporations. Where once large numbers of Southern Congressmen and Senators were behind the New Deal, they are now full fledged reactionaries. And, of course, Southern industry today, like industry throughout the country is heavily dependent upon military orders. Southern politicians bid furiously for defense contracts for their areas.

With a convergence of ties to the military-industrial complex, the Ultras and Southern racists already have much in common. But there is more. Both share a common ultraconservative social and economic view of the world. Both share a utopian yearning for the world of yesterday and a common abhorrence of social planning, the welfare state, trade unionism, and political democracy.

There are differences: Where Southern reaction sees itself threatened mainly by the rise to full fledged citizenship of the Negro people, the Birchers are primarily concerned with the growing power of the state and the urban masses. But these differences are tending to diminish and disappear altogether as Northern urban dwellers increasingly means Negro urban dwellers. And in any case opposition to integration is organic to the Birch view of the world. The struggle of the Negro people for freedom is, of course, seen as part of the sinister Communist conspiracy.

"The real issue," says Robert Welch, "is not integration in the schools, or in the restaurants, or anywhere else. The first issue of importance involved is States Rights." This is, of course, the First Commandment of racist politics in the United States. And, as Welch's good friend George Benson of Searcy, Arkansas puts it, there are

documents which show that in point 9 of the Communist timetable for 1961 "increased subversion through racial unrest in the United States" is to be expected.

All of this comes to a rather fantastic climax in a favorite Birchist project, shared also by the Billy James Hargis crowd: The impeachment of Chief Justice Earl Warren.

The Birch Society believes that "the impeachment of Earl Warren would dramatize and crystalize the whole basic question of whether the United States remains the United States, or becomes gradually transformed into a province of the worldwide Soviet system." As for integration: "It should be left up to the people," says Welch, by which he means, of course, that it should be left in the hands of the racist politicians in the Southern states.

Although the Ultras feel a strong sense of kinship with the Southern racist politicians their own attitudes toward American politics are ambivalent and contradictory. The Birchites do not believe in democracy and they say so. In the words of Robert Welch, "democracy is a weapon of demagoguery and a perennial fraud."

One wing of the Ultras takes this statement deadly serious and has begun to act on it. The Minutemen, a private guerilla army led by Birch Society member Robert B. DePugh of Missouri, has been conducting military maneuvers in Illinois and California. Interviewed by the San Francisco Chronicle on November 9, 1961, DePugh said he had visited Welch recently and had had a talk with him in his home in Belmont, Mass. Asked by Chronicle reporter George Draper why he had organized his right wing army, the Minuteman leader replied, "they would come in handy as 'neighbor against neighbor' spies in the event of a Communist uprising in the United States."

DePugh claimed a membership of 25,000, a figure that is probably inflated. But there is no doubt about the existence of the organization and of the fact that it is heavily armed. When police in Shiloh, Ill. broke up a meeting of 19 Minutemen, they found an arsenal consisting of recoilless rifles, mortars and machine guns. In California, the National Guard's state Adjutant General told newsmen that the Guard had been observing secret military maneuvers by the Minutemen "equipped with heavy weapons."

The ideology of this guerilla gang is authentically Birchist and although they claim to be preparing for "do it yourself" civil defense, the evidence indicates that they regard the "Communist threat" to be mainly a domestic one. DePugh talks of a "Communist uprising". The New York Times quotes a Minuteman tract as follows: "We must investigate, by means of our own secret memberships, the possible infiltration of Communist sympathizers into American organizations of government, business, labor, religion or education." Asked if they didn't have faith in the FBI's ability to keep tabs on infiltration, DePugh replied, "we're in a better position to know our friends and neighbors than anyone else. . . . A lot of people in this country are

Communists without knowing it themselves."

This guerilla development is a direct outgrowth of the burgeoning of the Ultras and a logical culmination of their ideology. As of now they are, and will probably remain for some time to come, the small super radical wing of the fundamentalist right. But given a continuation of the objective factors that give rise to the Ultras and the failure of the liberal and labor movements to conduct an effective counterattack, then the Minutemen or their equivalent will grow. What such a development would mean is painfully obvious.

But most Ultras are not Minutemen and despite Welch's hostility toward democracy, they utilize the pressure techniques made available to them by democracy.* Wherever possible they intervene in politics, either by electing their own people to office or cultivating politicians already in office whose own reactionary views are close to theirs. Three Birchite Congressmen from California were already mentioned: Rousset, Hiestand and Utt. Congressman Gordon Scherer, a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee, has publicly proclaimed his support of the Birch Society. Georgia Congressman James C. Davis is a member of the National Advisory Committee of Billy Hargis' Christian Crusade. Noah Mason (R.) of Illinois, and Dale Alford (D.) of Arkansas are close to Hargis, as is Governor Faubus. Senator McClellan of Arkansas has worked closely with the Harding College-N.E.P. crowd and has received an award from Freedom's Foundation. Congressman Henry Judd of Minnesota and Senator Thomas Dodd of Connecticut, while not full fledged Ultras themselves, share many of the views held by the extreme right and are prepared to work with them, as evidenced by the fact that both are regular speakers at Fred Schwarz' "anti-Communism" schools and rallies. Senator Tower of Texas, who seems to be somewhat to the right of Barry Goldwater, acknowledges that members of the Birch Society actively campaigned for him and that he did nothing to discourage them. The Senator echoes most of the Ultra line and has been the most extreme of the Senatorial supporters of General Walker, who is a member of the Birch Society. Finally, Senator James Eastland, Chairman of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee has made it known that he thinks highly of the Birch Society. In reply to inquiries about the Society sent to his committee, he states that it is "apparently a patriotic organization."

There are probably other Ultras in Congress; there are certainly a number of them in various state governments. The legislative bodies of at least two states, Texas and Arizona, have invited Fred C. Schwarz to lecture them on the Communist menace and gave him a

*Although Welch and the Birch Society leaders are the only major group of Ultras who publicly denounce democracy, the other leading Ultras never express adherence to it. Schwarz, Hargis, and Benson, for example, speak of their belief in the Republic, the Constitution, even freedom, but the word "democracy" seems to be entirely absent from their vocabularies.

standing ovation when he was through.

Several of the rightist organizations maintain offices in Washington to bring pressure to bear for their favorite causes, or, as is more frequently the case, to oppose legislation. Billy James Hargis' man in Washington is General C. A. Willoughby (ret.), the former intelligence chief for General MacArthur. The American Security Council's Washington Office is headed by Admiral Chester Ward (ret.), who enjoys close relations with a number of active-duty military men. The Institute for American Strategy operates a headquarters in the nation's capitol.

The John Birch Society's operations in Washington are more circumspect. A Washington dispatch to the New York Times on President Kennedy's foreign aid bill reported, "The principal lobbying effort against the bill is being waged . . . by an ultra-conservative businessman's organization known as the Citizen's Foreign Aid Committee . . . Army Brigadier General Bonner Fellers, Ret. (a member of the Birch Society Committee of Endorsers, ed.) is national director and operating head of the organization's Washington headquarters . . . Seven of the organization's forty-man national committee are also national directors of the ultra-conservative John Birch Society . . . While such groups as the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Farm Bureau Federation will also be heard in opposition to the aid program, much of the material they use will have originated in General Feller's office."

An important contradiction in Birchite politics is embedded in their attitudes toward Barry Goldwater and the Republican Party. Goldwater is clearly the Ultra's favorite choice for President. Welch has said so publicly, as have most of the others. Yet, they lack confidence in the Republican Party. Taft's nomination was stolen from him, says Welch, by the Communist conspirators in the Republican Party, who when the chips are down, are able to control the nomination. Welch has said he would like to see a Goldwater-Thurmond third party ticket in 1964.

Others among the Ultras are probably hoping to see Goldwater win the Republican nomination. But most fundamentally the Ultras look forward to political upheaval in the country and the emergence of an authoritarian regime: one which would "clean out the menace of internal subversion" and "stand up to the international Communist conspiracy."

In the meanwhile they are working furiously on behalf of General Walker and against Senator Fulbright and his memorandum. For they rightly view the Walker affair as an historically important battle. In Arkansas, Senator Fulbright's home state, the N.E.P.-Harding College complex is mobilizing all its resources in an effort to defeat the Senator in the 1962 election. And throughout the country the rank and file of the ultras are using their favorite, and effective weapon to bring pressure on Congress and the Administration: letter writing. So volu-

minous is the mail from the Ultras that Congresswoman Edith Green called it "frightening." Throughout the country the right wing letter writers are mobilized for action. On both coasts they have special organizations devoted exclusively to getting out the letters: the Network of Patriotic Letter Writers, which is based in Pasadena and Public Action, Inc. which operates out of New York.

But on the democratic left there is no equivalent activity to speak of, and this lack is noticed in Washington and throughout the country. The labor movement, which has the potential for mobilizing thousands, if not millions, seems lamentably unconcerned. The liberal organizations and publications, with a few honorable exceptions, show little sense of the urgency of the problem. None, for example, have yet come forward with a call for a united democratic alliance to strike back at the ultras, to resoundingly affirm the American rule of civilian control of the military, to bring pressure on Congress and the Administration to carry out the promises of the 1960 Democratic Platform.

Yet such a democratic alliance is clearly and desperately needed. It can dramatically reverse the political tide. The elections of 1958 and 1960 proved that there is a liberal majority in the land that favors social advance. It is up to the democratic left to provide the leadership that will mobilize that majority for positive action for peace and democracy and thereby push the Ultras aside.

A Democratic Antidote

How are we to evaluate the phenomenon of the Ultras?

It would be a mistake to develop a counter-paranoia to that of the radical reactionaries, to imagine rightists under every bed, or to think that the basic problem of American society is dealing with its domestic right-wingers.

And it would be an equally serious mistake, as this pamphlet makes abundantly clear, to dismiss the whole business as the workings of a lunatic fringe.

The Ultras, as they have been defined in this analysis, have a powerful base in one wing of the military-industrial complex; they have mass organizations and fronts; they are able to make effective mobilizations in Washington; and they are tied in with the whole traditional system of racism, native fascism, and the like.

At this point, it would be hysterical to see the Ultras as standing on the eve of national political power. Rather, it is important to understand them, to grasp why various factors are promoting their growth,

to see that they will become, not less of a problem, but more of a menace.

The distinctive thing about the American Ultras is that their basic dynamic derives from an international crisis. This is what makes them new and distinguishes them from the right wing formations of earlier periods.

When fascism arose in Europe in the Thirties, it was the product of internal breakdowns. In Italy, Mussolini rode to power during the period of intense struggle right after World War I; Hitler rose through the collapse of the Germany economy; and Franco was the beneficiary of a violent and terrible Civil War. The fascists were, to be sure, "internationalist", i.e. they had programs of national expansion and foreign conquest. But these were always related to the domestic crisis.

Given its origins, the various fascist movements tended to have "social programs" (even if these were usually for demagogic purposes). In some cases, there were even anti-capitalist themes. This was true in the United States where the fascist movements used slogans of "social justice", "share the wealth", and the like.

Since they developed out of domestic crisis and unrest, the fascist movements were, to put it mildly, highly visible. They built open, mass movements for the seizure of power; they struggled in the streets and employed the tactics of insurrection. Their appeal was to a lower middle class on the brink of destruction, and to unemployed workers who had been driven to desperation through long, intolerable periods of joblessness.

It is clear that the American Ultras are not carbon copies of these classic fascist movements. There is no domestic unrest in American society capable of serving as a base for militant mass movements of the right. Instead, the Ultras derive their strength from the international crisis. They feed upon the frustrations of Americans who are puzzled and dismayed by the political complexities of a world containing a Communist claimant for global power and the great, historic transformation of the colonial revolution.

The focus of the Ultra is the conspirator, the spy, the traitor, the infiltrator, rather than the economy or a particular class in it. The method of the Ultra is the anti-conspiracy conspiracy as well as the mass movement. The vision of the Ultras is not an insurrectionary seizure of power but the counter-infiltration of the "already Communist-infiltrated" institutions of American society. The aim of the Ultra is not so much a positive social program as it is a demand that the United States get "tough" with the Communists (that is, risk World War III whenever there is a Russian challenge) and stop "pampering" the nation (that is, dispense with all progressive programs of social welfare).

If the Ultras do not pose a fascist-like threat of imminent coup d'etat in the United States, they have an aspect which, in some ways

is more insidious: A good part of their power is organized on conspiratorial lines, another part derives from the "informal" workings of military and corporate elites, most of them out of sight. As a result, the extent of ultra strength is less visible than that of classic Fascism. And in so much as they succeed in imposing their doctrine upon the nation, they create the conditions for the advance of Communism and the further growth of Ultra sentiment.

In short, the Ultras are not a passing phenomenon. They will be with us for a long time—even if, as in the case of McCarthyism, the sentiment goes underground for a few years—and it is essential that the democratic forces in the United States realize this.

The immediate problem is to contain Ultra power within existing institutions, and to push it back. The main instrumentality of this task is the assertion of the American tradition of civilian control of the military and of the non-political character of the military. In this regard, Senator Fulbright deserves the thanks of every civil libertarian and democrat in the nation for bringing the issue into public debate.

But, as noted before in the discussion of the military-industrial complex, it is not enough to fight the Ultra symptoms. There must be battle against the *causes* of radical reaction in the United States.

First and foremost, the democratic forces must develop a clear and forthright program for political struggle against Communism *and* for freedom. If this nation had a vital foreign policy of real democratic substance, if it greeted and joined the revolutions of our time in order to provide them with the economic and political support for a democratic development, then much of the frustration and fear, the pessimism in the face of a complex international situation, would disappear.

The last paragraph represents an exceedingly fine and true sentiment; yet it has come to have the ring of a fatuous piety. Orator after orator has proclaimed this as the goal of America, and every post-war President, Eisenhower as well as Truman and Kennedy, has used this kind of rhetoric. In order to understand how to take the statement seriously, to raise it from phrasemongering to the level of political program, it is important to develop a concrete and rounded democratic foreign policy.

The essentials of such a policy can easily be outlined. They involve a shift from primary reliance upon military means to the utilization of political weapons in the fight against Communism. They require an end to the sacrifice of political principle for the sake of military expediency. They consist of a repudiation of alliances with right wing dictators, and a stop to the inclusion of Franco's Spain, Salazar's Portugal and Chiang Kai-shek's Formosa within the definition "Free World".

America's NATO allies were the oppressors yesterday of the newly-emergent nations who have so recently been liberated from

colonial bondage and they are also the oppressors of the remaining colonies to be found in Africa and Asia today. France still conducts a "dirty" imperialist war in Algeria, while Portugal bring terror and bloodshed to the peoples of Angola when the latter demonstrate for freedom. The record of the United States during the last decade and a half has been one of consistent support to the European imperialist powers against the colonial revolution in order not to offend this country's NATO partners. And while there have been a few encouraging signs of change from this rigid position since the inauguration of President Kennedy and the appointment of Adlai Stevenson as Ambassador to the UN, there remains a long way to go before we can even begin to convince the neutralist nations of Asia and Africa that the U.S. is genuinely their friend.

America's defense of freedom against Communism sounds hollow to much of the world because we have not demonstrated that we stand for freedom *everywhere*, on both sides of the iron curtain. If a victory over Communism through nuclear war is to be ruled out, the United States must develop the kind of policy which can contain and isolate Communist totalitarianism politically. Only a total and genuine democratic program offers the possibility of success along these lines.

America is what it is abroad, to a considerable extent, because of what it is at home. When one looks at the struggle against Batista in January, 1959, through the eyes of sugar corporations and the Havana AT&T . . . it is sense and wisdom to stand aside, to be neutral, to disdain "joining" the revolution. And once this judgement is made, as that revolution moves against the American corporations and towards Moscow (in considerable degree because of the failure of the United States to act positively and radically), the same eyes see nothing but another Communist plot.

In short, America will not act positively and radically abroad so long as its domestic life is dominated by the force of conservatism, reaction and the status quo. To get a democratic foreign policy, one must achieve a much more democratic domestic policy.

The American Ultras have been quite successful in integrating internal reaction with internationalist reaction. They are solidly based upon corporate and military bureaucracies rooted in our domestic social structure. It is from this vantage point that they acquire the power to push America toward the right and nuclear war on the international level. If the Ultra psychology is made in Moscow by Communist successes, the Ultra power is produced in the United States by domestic social realities.

The response of the democratic left cannot simply be the urging and affirming of a democratic foreign policy. To give that program substance and meaning, there must be a *movement*, a powerful coalition growing out of the domestic reality, which turns the pious sentiments about the "revolution of our times" into something meaningful.

One example should make this point clear. The most dynamic,

popular movement of recent times is taking place in the area of civil rights. In this sector of American life, thousands, hundreds of thousands, millions of people are acting and acting boldly. This same movement has denounced Birchism with passion and effectiveness; it has demonstrated a sensitivity to the colonial revolution which goes beyond anything in our society. Out of the vitality and idealism demanded of the struggle for integration, there has come a much larger dedication to democracy and social advance, a profound sympathy for the principle of self-determination throughout the world.

But American Negroes are a minority. Their movement, magnificent as it is, cannot transform the nation in all of its politics. The point is not the obvious one that every white democrat must be the wholehearted and enthusiastic partisan of the Negro campaign for emancipation; the point is that the nation desperately needs an inter-racial movement for broad social change which is as vital and dynamic as the civil rights movement.

This relates to another basic point. As this pamphlet is being written, there are some in the Kennedy Administration who are beginning to argue that there must be a moratorium on domestic social advance so that the fight against Communism can be carried out. Yet, it is precisely a cessation of internal change, a drying up of the springs of democratic creativity within the nation, which will paralyze the struggle for peace and freedom, which will leave the military-industrial complex dominant in America and therefore dominant in our foreign policy.

And the labor movement is, of course, central. In the past, it has been the single greatest source of social change in America. Today, beleaguered by the problem of automation and torn by internal jurisdictional disputes, it is still the largest, most powerful force in the society committed to public housing, to medical care for the aged, to aid for education and the like.

And yet, when one compares the élan and enthusiasm of the Civil Rights fighters to the mood of the trade unionists, there is a glaring contrast. What is desperately needed is a re-birth of the traditional union spirit in the United States. That is clear enough.

That spirit requires the linking up labor, the Negro and the entire liberal community in the land. In the process must come the forging of a reliable political instrument capable of actually advancing America off dead center. That means a realignment politically. Healthy signs of movement toward realignment, a radical break with the Dixiecrats and Northern political machines, are beginning to manifest themselves. In New York, California, Texas and elsewhere, fresh young forces are effectively challenging the old style do-nothing politicians in the Democratic Party. They're demanding rank and file participation in decision making and serious attention to program.

But if the beginning is an encouraging one, it's only a beginning. Labor, above all, has to throw its weight behind this new trend. The

fight must be extended to every state of the nation, in every primary battle and election campaign. Programs and goals have to be hammered out and a beginning made in the direction of national coordination. The Negro community has to be actively involved and that means a no-holds-barred battle for integration in every facet of public life. Nothing less than a genuine second party, a democratic left movement, must be forged; regardless of the party tag it bears. In this way the currents for progressive, humanist and democratic change can not only outpace the right, but sweep it aside, as was done in the thirties in this land.

Given this analysis, the problem of providing democratic alternatives, of meeting the challenge of the Ultras, can be put into perspective.

We believe that all of the democratic tendencies in American life, all the individuals and organizations committed to social change, must unite as never before.

We believe that we must reject the proposition that domestic change is to be sacrificed for the duration of the Cold War: a really new movement capable of mounting a democratic foreign policy can only first develop in the struggle against the military-industrial complex at home.

We believe that it is time that America took some of the fine rhetoric about the revolution in our time seriously. We believe that we should join that revolution. We do not believe that corporations or generals will do it for us; we have to do it ourselves.

We believe, above all, that it is time for the democratic left to get radical. What makes the Ultras such a challenge is that they are not simply the product of conditions and forces, but rather, they are building a movement. They have touched a certain radicalism in their reactionary anti-Communism; they have mobilized the incredible drama of these times in the service of the status quo and worse.

The Democratic Left can never be a demagogic revival meeting. It cannot rest content with political emotionalism. The Democratic Left believes in man's reason and the possibility of a decent, human response to the present crisis.

Granting all this, it is time that the Democratic Left got radical—that it match the militancy and dedication of the resurgent right, that it gain a sense of history and purpose equal to that of the bosses and the brass. The Civil Rights movement has demonstrated that working men and women have, right here and now, the passion to fight for justice, to risk and to struggle.

We Socialists are not liberals; yet we are part of the liberal community. We propose that the evidence is at hand, that all of us from center on left must unite in a common struggle. The American Ultras are not a fascist menace right now; but they are a sign of the gravity of the crisis, of the conflicts to come. We will ignore this evidence at our peril.

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